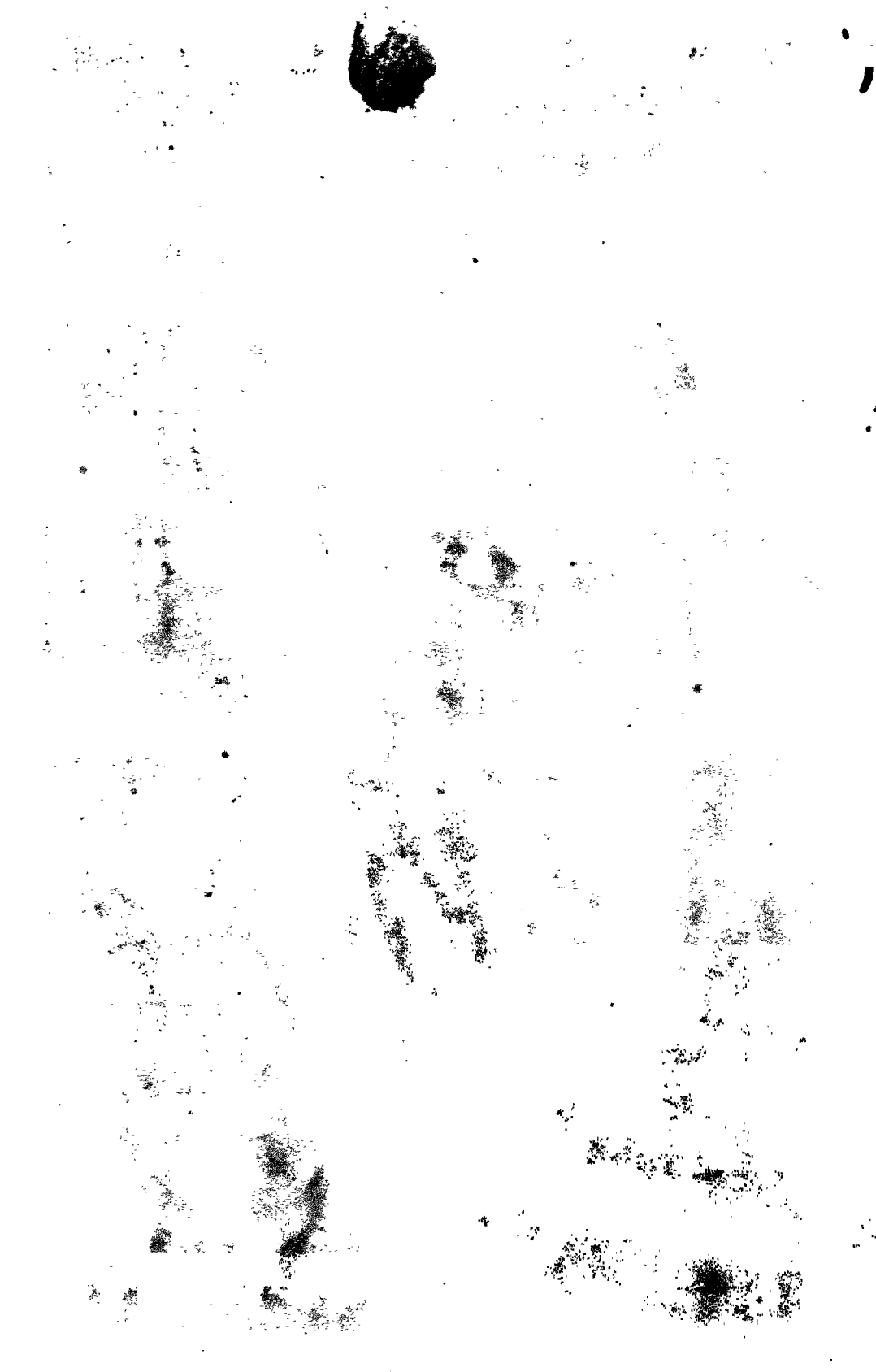


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FRANKLIN EDGERTON

University of Pennsylvania

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY

University of Pennsylvania

MAX L. MARGOLIS

Dropsie College

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ADLER, C.: East and West	177
BARRET, L. C.: Review of Caland's <i>Śrāuta-sūtra des Āpastamba</i> . . .	139
— The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book Eleven	258
BARTON, G. A.: Lexicographical Notes	271
B(ENDER), H. H.: Notice of Būga's <i>Lietuvių kalbos žodynas</i> . . .	140
BLOOMFIELD, M.: On False Ascetics and Nuns in Hindu Fiction . . .	202
BRADLEY, C. B.: Some Features of the Siamese Speech and Writing . .	11
CHANDLER, J. S.: The Forthcoming Tamil Lexicon	134
CHIERA, E.: TAK-KU a Female Deity	54
CLARK, W. E.: Māgadhi and Ardhamāgadhi	81
CLAY, A. T.: The so-called Fertile Crescent and Desert, Bāy . . .	186
EDGERTON, W. F.: Review of Küster's <i>Das antike Seewesen</i> . . .	77
GEHMAN, H. S.: A Pāṇini in Buddhist Sanskrit	73
G(RAY), L. H.: Notice of Fossum's <i>Practical Kurdish Grammar</i> . .	80
HOPKINS, E. W.: Review of Nag's <i>Théories diplomatiques de l'Inde</i> .	76
— Priestly Penance and Legal Penalty	243
HSÜ, T. S.: The History of the Canon of the Chinese Classics . . .	273
JACKSON, A. V. W.: Contributions to the Knowledge of Manichaeism .	61
— Review of Levy's <i>Persian Literature</i>	138
JOHNSON, H. M.: The Story of the Thief Rāuhineya in the Mahā- viracaritra of Hemacandra	1
LEVY, R.: A Note on the Marsh Arabs of Lower Iraq	130
MARTINOVITCH, N. N.: A New Manuscript of Ali Riza Abbasi . . .	270
MEEK, T. J.: Review of Langdon's <i>Oxford Cuneiform Inscriptions</i> . .	287
P(ORTER), L. C.: Notice of Holm's <i>My Nestorian Adventure</i> . . .	290
PRICE, I. M.: The Nabopolassar Chronicle	122
STURTEVANT, E. H.: Phonetic Law and Imitation	38
WARE, J. R.: Old Persian <i>niyaθ'ārayam</i> , Bh. I. 64	285
ZWEMER, S. M.: A New Census of the Moslem World	29

LIST OF BOOKS REVIEWED

BŪGA, K.: <i>Lietuvių kalbos žodynas</i> (H. H. B.)	140
CALAND, W.: <i>Das Śrāuta-sūtra des Āpastamba</i> (Barret)	139
CHALMEERS, R.: Thomas William Rhys Davids	79
FOSSUM, L. O.: <i>A Practical Kurdish Grammar</i> (L. H. G.)	80
HARRIS, D. G.: <i>Irrigation in India</i>	79
HILLEBRANDT, A.: <i>Altindische Politik</i>	79
HOLM, F.: <i>My Nestorian Adventure</i> (L. C. P.)	290
KÜSTER, A.: <i>Das antike Seewesen</i> (W. F. Edgerton)	77
LANGDON, S.: <i>Oxford Cuneiform Inscriptions, Vols. I-II</i> (Meek) . .	287
LEVY, R.: <i>Persian Literature</i> (Jackson)	138

NAG, K.: Théories diplomatiques de l'Inde (Hopkins)	76
SAUNDERS, K.: Lotuses of the Mahāyāna	290
SBATH, P.: The Crossroads	291
SCOTT, Sir J. G.: Burma from the earliest times to the present day	290

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY	80, 272, 291
NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.	292
PERSONALIA	80, 141, 292
PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY AT NEW YORK, 1924	142
PROCEEDINGS OF THE MIDDLE WEST BRANCH, 1924	172
LIST OF MEMBERS	293

INDEX TO VOLUMES 21-40 OF THE JOURNAL, compiled by R. K. YERKES	313
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THE STORY OF THE THIEF RĀUHIṆEYA IN THE MAHĀVĪRACARITRA OF HEMACANDRA

HELEN M. JOHNSON

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

WHEN I PUBLISHED the translation of Devamūrti's Rāuhiṇeya-caritra in the *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield*,¹ I expressed the hope that I should be able to supplement it later with additional material. This hope I succeeded in realizing; I have not only collected manuscript material for the Rāuhiṇeyacaritra, which simplifies many difficulties, but have found that this work was only an introduction to many others centering in this famous thief-hero.

Rāuhiṇeya seems to have been an especial favorite with the Jaina fiction writers, and his story in briefer form than the Rāuhiṇeyacaritra occurs as an episode in several other works. The chief author in whose works I actually found the Rāuhiṇeya episode is Hemacandra; but Jaina Sādhus told me that they knew of a yet earlier occurrence in a manuscript which has not been published and which they did not have, but which is certainly extant. I did not find this while I was in India, but I hope it may yet be located.

The statement made previously to the effect that Hemacandra "quoted" from the Rāuhiṇeyacaritra in his Commentary to the Yogaśāstra must be corrected, in view of what I learned about the author Devamūrti. The Jaina Sādhus are my authority for the fact that he was the author of a *Sinhāsanadvātriṅśikākathā* and of a *Vikramacaritra*,² of which the date is 1440 A. D. The exact date of the Rāuhiṇeyacaritra they did not know.

The Rāuhiṇeya episode as given by Hemacandra in the Yogaśāstra commentary is almost identical with the first 110 ślokaś of the eleventh sarga of his Mahāvīracaritra, which occupies the tenth parva of the *Triṣaṣṭicalākāpuruṣacaritra*. In this version, the first generation, Rūpyakhura and King Prasenajit, does not

¹ New Haven, 1920; pages 159-195.

² These two names refer to the same work. But the only Jainistic recension of that work known at present is attributed to one Kṣemamkara Muni (*Ind. Stud.* 15. 188).—F. E.

appear. Çrenika is reigning king, and Lohakhura terrorizes Rājagṛha. Many episodes that occur in Devamūrti's story do not, of course, appear in the shorter recension, and there is no reference to magic arts nor to the thieves as magicians—a theme which Devamūrti elaborates extensively.³ Rāuhineya, indeed, is captured by soldiers rather ignominiously, like a very ordinary thief. With the exception of his capture, however, the episodes that occur in both accounts accord quite closely. The simpler tradition followed by Hemacandra seems to have been better known, or probably was made known by Hemacandra. The Paryuṣaṇāṣṭāhnikavyākhyāna, a didactic work belonging to the fifteenth century, quotes the Rāuhineya episode almost in Hemacandra's words; and the Upadeṣaprasāda, a late didactic work, gives a short prose account evidently based on Hemacandra. The story of Rāuhineya doubtless figures in the various Abhayakumāracaritras, since Abhaya played such an important part in Rāuhineya's career. It has also been dramatized, in the Prabuddha Rāuhineya, one of the manuscripts found a few years ago in Pattan by Mr. Dalal, published by the Ātmānanda Sabhā in Bhavnagar.⁴

My translation of the eleventh sarga of the Mahāvīracaritra is from the text published by the Prasārak Sabhā in Bhavnagar. I examined seven manuscripts: two in the Bhandarkar Institute in Poona, $\frac{47}{1874-75}, \frac{1260}{1886-92}$, designated as P1 and P2; two in the temple library in Baroda, B1 and B2; one obtained from the Prasārak Sabhā, designated as Bh.; and two lent by the Ācārya Dharma Sūri, M1 and M2. Of these M1 is probably the oldest. Certainly it, the two in Poona and the one in Bhavnagar are the most valuable. All these manuscripts are carefully written and comparatively free from scribal errors. There are, too, remarkably few textual variations. In the present article I have indicated the most important ones.

For most of my information in regard to Jaina literature, and the interpretation of Jaina terminology, I am indebted to the late

³ See now Professor Bloomfield's elaborate essay on "The Art of Stealing in Hindu Fiction," *AJPh.* 44. pp. 97-133 and 193-229; especially pp. 118-120.

⁴ See also the 81st story in Hemavijaya's Kathāratnākara, translated by Johannes Hertel (Munich 1920), vol. i, pp. 229 ff.—M. Bl.

Ācārya Vijaya Dharma Sūri and his disciples, who gave me every assistance possible. Indeed, contrary to the general impression, I found the Jains everywhere most willing to give me access to their manuscripts, and to show me every courtesy. The Jains in Baroda and Bhavnagar were especially kind in doing everything possible to facilitate my work.

There are many others in India, besides the Jains, to whom I am under obligations for assistance and encouragement; above all, to Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, of the Deccan College, Poona, who initiated me in manuscript work. His pupil, Mr. N. G. Suru, Mr. Nanavati, Minister of Commerce and Industry of Baroda, Mr. N. C. Dutt, State Librarian of Baroda, and Mr. A. J. Sunavala of Bhavnagar all aided me greatly in collecting material. I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to all who, by their courtesy and hospitality, made my stay in India pleasant and profitable.

The Mahāvīracaritra: Sarga 11, 1-110

Then the Blessed Vīra, inspired by a desire to benefit humanity, wandered through various hamlets, towns and capital villages. At this time there was a thief, named Lohakhura, living in a cave in Mt. Vāibhāra near Rājagrha, who was a terrible man, and like quicksilver personified (in speed). During the festivals and similar functions on the part of the citizens of Rājagrha, he frequently seized the opportunity to commit outrages like a demon; and in consequence of carrying away property and enjoying other men's wives, he looked upon the city as a treasury, or indeed, his own house. Theft only, no other occupation, was a pleasure to him. Demons are pleased with no other food but flesh.

By his wife Rohiṇī, he had a son Rāuhineya who resembled him in person and character. When the father's death was near at hand, he summoned his son and said, "I shall give you some advice, if you will be sure to follow it." "Most certainly I shall follow your advice. Who on earth would disregard a father's teaching?" Rāuhineya replied. Then, delighted by this speech, the thief Lohakhura, caressing his son, spoke solemnly as follows: "Do not listen to the speech of that Vīra who gives instruction inside an assembly-hall (Samavasaraṇa)⁵ built by the gods; but

⁵ (Stanza 10.) When a sage attains Kevala Jñāna, the gods approach

rather, son, do as you please, without restraint." After he had given this advice, Lohakhura died.

Rāuhineya attended to the funeral ceremonies of his father, and then practised theft unceasingly, as if a second Lohakhura had appeared. He guarded his father's advice, as if it were his very soul, and robbed the city Rājagrha, as if it were his own slave.

At this time, as he was wandering gradually through many towns and villages, Vīra, the last Jina Arhat, surrounded by fourteen thousand great ascetics, setting his feet on beautiful golden lotuses put in motion by the gods, came there (to Rājagrha); and for the Lord Jina the Vāimānikas, the Jyotiṣikas, the Asuras, the Vyantaras and the (other) gods made an assembly-hall, where the Blessed Vīra gave religious instruction in a voice adapted to every dialect and extending for a *yojana*.⁶ Then Rāuhineya too, as he was on his way to Rājagrha, arrived in the vicinity of the assembly-hall which was in the middle of the road, and meditated to this effect; "If I go by that road, I shall hear Vīra's discourse and my father's command will be broken. Yet there is no other road; so be it." With this reflection, he covered his ears with his hands, and quickly went on to Rājagrha. As he came and went every day in this manner, one day near the assembly-hall a thorn was broken off in his foot; and because of the pain in walking, he was not able to take a step without extracting the thorn imbedded in his foot. Thinking, "There is no other way," he took his hand from his ear. While he was extracting the thorn, he heard the voice of the All-Teacher: "The gods do not touch the earth with their feet, their eyes are unwinking, their wreaths are unwithered, their bodies are free from perspiration and dust."⁷ "Alas! I have heard a great deal! Out upon it!" (he cried.) Quickly he pulled out the thorn, covered his ear with his hand, and departed in that manner.

him to receive religious instruction, and build an assembly-hall for the purpose. For the *samavasaraṇa* in detail, see *Indian Antiquary*, 40, pp. 125-130, 153-61.

⁶ (St. 17.) This is one of the twelve characteristics of an Arhat. Vīra speaks in one dialect, but is understood by each one in his own dialect. His voice is audible for a *yojana*.

⁷ This theme, 'Characteristics of the Gods,' is common from Epic through all Hindu fiction, as a progressive motif; but it is, as far as I know, nowhere else made the cardinal moment of an independent and interesting story.—M. Bl.

Now, as the city was robbed daily by this thief, the leading⁸ merchants went to Ārenika and announced: "While you are ruling, Your Majesty, we have no other fear; but, on the other hand, our property is seized and carried away by thieves who are not seen, as if by demons." The King indeed sympathized with them just as if they had been his relatives, and spoke angrily and haughtily to the chief of police: "Do you take pay from me, having turned thief, or having become (my) heir, since these men are robbed by thieves whom you ignore?" He replied, "Your Majesty, a certain thief, named Rāuhineya, robs the citizens. He can not be caught, even when seen. He jumps from house to house like a monkey, and then easily gets over the wall with a leap like lightning. While we follow his track by the road, he disappears. Verily, lost by one step, he is lost by a hundred. I can neither kill nor catch this thief. Therefore, Your Majesty, take charge of this police-business yourself." Then the King, by raising an eyebrow, indicated to the prince⁹ Abhayakumāra¹⁰ that he was to speak, and he said to the policeman: "Equip a force consisting of the four departments,¹¹ and station it outside the city. When the thief goes inside, then surround the city. After he has been frightened inside, he will take the lightning-like jump and fall into the hands of the army, like a deer into a net. Led here by his own feet, as if by witnesses, the great thief must be captured by vigilant soldiers." The chief of police received instructions to this effect and went away. Being clever, he secretly armed the force and placed it, as he had been told.

On that day, Rāuhineya came from another village and unknowingly entered the surrounded city, like an elephant into an elephant trap. The chief of police led the thief, captured and bound by these means, to the king and handed him over. "Just as the good deserve assistance, so the wicked deserve punishment. Therefore let him be punished." The King gave such orders. Then Abhaya said: "Verily, as he was caught without any stolen pro-

⁸ (Stanza 26.) Or better, read *creṇigreṣṭhā*, 'the chiefs of the guilds,' with P2 and B1.

⁹ (Stanza 34.) Read *kumāro*, with MSS. P1, P2, B2, M1.

¹⁰ Abhayakumāra, in the Ārenika stories, is both the son and the chief minister of Ārenika.—M. B1.

¹¹ Elephants, horses, chariots, men.

perty, he does not deserve punishment.¹² After an investigation, he must be punished." Thereupon the King questioned him: "Where do you come from? What is your occupation? For what reason have you come here? Are you Rāuhīṇeya?" Terrified at hearing his own name, he said to the King: "I am Durgacaṇḍa, a householder in the village Cāli. I came here on a matter of business, and my curiosity having been aroused, I stayed in a temple until late at night. As I was going to my own house, I was challenged by guards like demons, and jumped the wall. Verily, fear of one's life is a great fear. After I had escaped the guards in the city, I fell among the troops of guards outside, like a fish dropped by the hand of the fisherman into a net. Now, although innocent, I am led here bound like a thief. Thou essence of *nīti*, consider."¹³ Then the King sent him to prison, and at once sent a man to the village to make enquiries regarding his character. In the beginning (before this), the thief had forced the village to make an agreement. Even some thieves have amazing forethought for the future. When the village was questioned by the King's man in regard to his true character, the people said: "Durgacaṇḍa was a resident here, but has gone to another village." When this was reported by the man who had gone there, the son of Cṛeṇika thought: "Alas, even Brahmā does not penetrate well-planned deceit."

Next, Abhaya prepared a seven-storied palace, ornamented with precious jewels, like unto a palace of the gods. Adorned with charming young women equal to Apsarases in beauty, it was looked upon as a piece of Indra's heaven that had fallen from the sky. A great festival with a concert rendered by a troupe of singers produced at once the magnificence of a real Gandharva city. Then Abhaya intoxicated the thief with wine, clothed him in the apparel of a god, and laid him on a couch. When he arose, the intoxication having passed away, he perceived immediately a divine splendor, unprecedented and amazing. In the meantime, groups of men and women, in accordance with Abhaya's instructions, said to him: "O Delight of the World, gain exceeding happiness in this

¹² See *AJPh.* 44. 133.—M. BL

¹³ (Stanza 48.) Read *nītisāra*, with MSS. P2, Bh., M1, B1; *Yogaśāstra* Comm. 49. P1 has *nītismāra*; B2 has *nītisārah vicārayā*.

way. In this great palace you have now become a god.¹⁴ You have become our master; we are your slaves. Sport with these Apsarases at your pleasure, like Indra." They addressed him agreeably and coaxingly with this introductory speech. "Have I become a god?" While the thief reflected thus, they clapped their hands for a concert. At that point, a certain man carrying a gold scepter approached and abruptly demanded: "What means this, sirs! that you have started in this way?" They replied: "Doorkeeper, we have undertaken this to show our cleverness and accomplishments to our lord." He (the doorkeeper) said: "Show your accomplishments to your lord; but nevertheless, have him carry out the customs of heaven."¹⁵ "What custom?" When the man heard this, he said angrily: "Have you forgotten even this? Whoever is brought here as a god, relates his own former actions, good and bad; then he may share the joys of heaven." "In the excitement of acquiring a lord, we forgot all this. Pardon us. Have the god carry out the practice of heaven,"¹⁶ they said. The doorkeeper said to Rāuhineya: "Come, tell us your former deeds, good and bad; then later enjoy the delights of heaven." Then the thief thought, "Is this thing true, or is it a trick planned by Abhaya to test me? How can I determine this?" As he was reflecting thus, he remembered the speech of the Jina that he heard when he extracted the thorn. "If the true nature of the gods as described by Vīra¹⁷ fits (them), I shall tell the truth; if not, I shall answer (falsely)."¹⁸ Reflecting thus, he deliberately observed them as they touched the surface of the earth, impure from perspiration, with withered wreaths and winking eyes. Having detected the whole trick, the thief considered a reply.

The doorkeeper said: "Please tell the story to all the people of this heaven eager (to hear it)." Rāuhineya then related: "In a former incarnation I gave gifts to worthy persons, and founded temples; I set up idols and worshipped them with eight-fold wor-

¹⁴ (Stanza 59.) Read *utpannatridaṣo*, after Bh. (MS. *utpannatridaṣo*).

¹⁵ (Stanza 64.) Read *saṃācāram*, with P2 and B1.

¹⁶ (Stanza 67.) Read *lokasthitim devaḥ*, with P1, P2, B2.

¹⁷ (Stanza 71.) MSS. P1, P2, M1, Bh read *virāc chrutam*.

¹⁸ *Karīṣyāmy anyathottaram*. The expression is somewhat condensed but the meaning is clear. Cf. *Paryuṣaṇā*. 47, 'mithyā dāsyē 'nyathottaram.'

ship;¹⁹ I performed pilgrimages and honored Gurus. I practised the conduct of the good, such as these things mentioned." After he had related this, he was commanded by the scepter-bearer: "Tell your bad deeds, also." "As the result of association with ascetics, I have never done anything wicked," Rāuhineya replied. The gate-keeper said: "A life passes according to several natures; so confess theft, adultery, and other things." "Would anyone guilty of such conduct reach heaven? Does a blind man climb a mountain?" answered Rāuhineya. They went and reported all this to Abhaya, and Abhaya reported it to King Āreṇika. "By such means it is not possible to determine who is a thief. Even if he is a thief, he must be released. The law can not be broken." So on the advice of the king, Abhaya released Rāuhineya. Sometimes even the wise are deceived by those clever in deceit.

Then the thief reflected: "Shame upon the teaching of my Father, by which for too long a time I have been defrauded of immortality, derived from the speech of the Jina. If the speech of the Lord had not entered the hollow of my ear, then I would have entered the realm of Yama (Pluto) as the result of many beatings.²⁰ Verily, a cure for making me live—as if I had been a sick man—was produced, when I heard the speech of the Jina, even though by accident. I wicked, alas! ignored the word of the Arhat, and took delight in the word of a thief for a long time. I cast aside mangoes for nimbas (a very bitter fruit).²¹ If a part of his instruction bears such fruit, what will his teaching, regarded in its entirety, accomplish?" Reflecting thus, Rāuhineya entered the presence of the Jina, bowed with reverence at his feet and made confession: "In the ocean of worldly existence of living creatures, an ocean filled with crocodiles in the form of terrible calamities, your voice extending for a yojana is a big ship. I was prevented from hearing your words for so long a time, and was deceived by my father, who was not a friend (to me), (though) thinking himself a friend. O Teacher of the three worlds, Protector of the three worlds, they are blessed who always as believers drink the

¹⁹ Namely. water, sandal, flowers with scent, incense, lamp of ghee, rice, sweets and other foods except green fruit, and green fruit.

²⁰ (Stanza 84.) Māra, 'beating,' a meaning taken from the vernacular. Cf. Hertel, *Bharaṭakadvātriṃśikā*, p. 54.

²¹ See *AJPh.* 44. 120.—M. Bl.

nectar of your speech with the cups of their ears; but I wicked, inattentive to your speech, O Jina, covered my ears and passed this place, alas! On one occasion, I heard one speech of yours, though unintentionally; by it, as if by a magic syllable, I was saved from a Rākṣasa of a king. As I was saved from death, so, Lord, save me from drowning in a whirlpool of the ocean of saṃsāra, Lord of the world!" Then out of pity for him the Master gave him pure instruction in the duty of a Sādhu, which furnishes access to nirvāṇa.

After he was enlightened, Rāuhineya made obeisance, and spoke as follows: "Lord, please decide whether or not I am suitable for the duties of an ascetic." On being told "You are suitable," he said: "Lord, I am going to take the vow, but (first), I want to tell Āṇḍika something." "Say what you have to say, without fear or hesitation." Addressed thus by Āṇḍika, the son of Lohakhura said: "Your Majesty, I whom you hear here am that Rāuhineya, the robber of your town, in accordance with the popular report. By one speech of the Jina, the cleverness of Abhayakumāra, hard to cross, was crossed by me, as a river by a boat. I robbed this whole city of yours; it is not necessary to look for any other thief, o Royal Sun! Send some one so that I can show the plunder. Then I shall make my life fruitful by wandering as a mendicant."

At the command of Āṇḍika, Abhaya himself rose and went with the thief, and the people of the town went along out of curiosity. Then the thief showed Abhaya the treasure concealed in mountains, rivers, bowers, cemeteries, and other places; and Abhaya distributed the treasure, all there was, to the people. There is no other course of conduct for ministers who know *nīti*, and are not avaricious.

After he had told the whole truth and enlightened his own people, Rāuhineya, believing, attached himself to the Jina. Then King Āṇḍika performed the ceremony of going out (into homelessness), and Rāuhineya took the vow of mendicancy at the feet of the exalted Vira. Beginning with the *caturtha* fast,²² for six months he performed wonderful penance for the destruction of karma.

²² (Stanza 108.) *Caturtha* means 'missing food for four times.' The first day the penitent has food once; the second day, no food; the third day, once.

Emaciated by penance and having accomplished complete destruction of the passions, he bade farewell to the exalted Vira and performed *pādapopāgama*²³ on the mountain. Pure in spirit, and remembering the *namaskriyā*²⁴ to the five spiritual dignitaries, Rāuhineya abandoned his body, and went to heaven, as a great Muni.

²³ (Stanza 109.) One of the forms of death. The person falls like a tree and dies as he falls.

²⁴ *Namo 'rhatiddhācāryopādhyāyasarvasādhubhyah.*

SOME FEATURES OF THE SIAMESE SPEECH AND WRITING

CORNELIUS B. BRADLEY

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

THE SIAMESE is the southernmost outlier of the great family of the Chinese dialects. Its kinship with them is shown, first, by its monosyllabic vocabulary;¹ and second, by the peculiar use it makes of tonal inflections of the voice, not as a part of its rhetorical apparatus, but as essential elements of individual words, quite as indispensable for their right enunciation and interpretation as are the consonants and vowels that make up their framework. Their kinship is further shown by a singular feature of the content and use of words in both—a quality which is often called their abstractness. To me, however, that term seems wholly inappropriate, for it seems to deny what is one of the most conspicuous features of both languages, namely their concreteness. The fact apparently is this: In both languages the words are symbols of concepts *per se*, being wholly devoid of inflectional apparatus to express and define their relations with other words in the sentence. They are therefore free to function in any syntactical relation not incompatible with their essential meaning. The very same thing has to a notable degree become not only possible but even common in modern English, as a result of the disappearance of the inflectional and derivational apparatus that formerly prevented nouns from taking on the functions of verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, and *vice versa*.

This feature of the Siamese language—and I imagine the same to be true of the Chinese—is directly associated with its monosyllabic vocabulary. A monosyllabic language cannot have either inflection or derivation without ceasing to be monosyllabic; nor

¹ The Siamese is by no means absolutely monosyllabic. In it, as in other languages, words that are frequently associated together in speech tend to combine, forming first a recurrent phrase, then a quasi-compound, then a definite compound. The heavy stress that falls on the distinctive member presently obscures the other member, so that though it still forms a syllable, it is no longer recognizable as ever having been a separate word. Such disyllabic compounds are a common feature of the Siamese vocabulary.

can it have distinguishable Parts of Speech other than Aristotle's two—Subject and Predicate; nor can it maintain any sharp distinction between Phrase, Clause, and Sentence. In English, for example, relative clauses are regularly introduced by words definitely specialized for the purpose of marking the relative function. But in Siamese the word equivalent to our relative *who* is a word which elsewhere means *person*; the word equivalent to our relative *that*, in other connections means *place* or *position*; the word for *when* means *time* or *occasion*; and so on. Statements so introduced have the sort of detachment that belongs to an 'aside' or a parenthetical remark. But the true relative clause is inwoven into the very texture of the sentence.

In speech of this sort all sentences are necessarily short; for proximity—or one might rather say juxtaposition—is the only means of indicating syntactical relations between words. Let me illustrate this point by turning a simple statement in English into the Siamese idiom, retaining, however, the English words. Let the sentence be: *The old man that you saw yesterday was my father.* This must first be stripped of all words unnecessary from the Siamese point of view, namely: the article *the*, the relative *that*; perhaps also the pronoun *you* and the copula *was*, unless these are emphatic. The inflected words *saw* and *my* are reduced to their type-forms *see* and *me*. The generalized word *old*, ambiguous in meaning and of unlimited dimension, must be replaced by the specific *aged*; and in the phrases *old man* and *my father*, the logical order, which our English inverts, must be restored. The Siamese statement would then read: *Man aged see yesterday father me.* What could be simpler? Its syntax is in fact that of the sign-language of deaf mutes the world over.

An interesting feature of this syntax is the frequent use of a series of words that in our thought figure as verbs, to represent for example what appears to us as a single comprehensive action, such as we would represent by a single comprehensive verb, with a modifier if necessary. In Siamese, however, the verbs, as we call them, are all specific like the rest of the vocabulary. It therefore becomes necessary to use a separate word for each phase of the action, including also the speaker's relation to it in the matter of position. Thus where we say *Walk in*, the Siamese must choose between *Walk enter come* and *Walk enter go*, according as the speaker's position is inside or outside the door. The idiom of the

'pidgin' English of all that eastern coast parallels the Siamese exactly. The ship-captain says to his boy: *Go catchee fetchee makee look see*, and the boy brings him the spy-glass. The Chinese cook in a San Francisco restaurant thus explains his method of dealing with eggs of an uncertain quality: *Can fly, fly. No can fly, scramble*. Every word in these examples save only the negative *no*, is for us a verb.

Turning now to the features of difference between these two languages, the most important is no doubt the fundamental difference between their modes of writing. Siamese writing is an attempt, clumsy enough but surprisingly successful, to represent the *sound* of the spoken word. Chinese writing, as I understand, aims by various suggestions, often fanciful and far-fetched, to hint at the *meaning* of the written symbol. If the reader succeeds in guessing that, he is welcome to pronounce it in any manner that pleases him. One is at a loss to know whether we are to regard this as a revival—with a difference—of the Pentecostal gift of tongues, whereby every man may read in his own speech whatever is written; or whether it be not rather a continuation of the curse of Babel to divide men further. Whatever it is, it is apparently the only survivor among civilized people of the ideographic and symbolic picture-writing which took the place of the rude scrawls of primitive man. It has been an anachronism in the world ever since the day when the canny Semite bethought him that the rude sketch of Aleph, the ox, might better be used to represent the initial sound of Aleph's name, and so increase its usefulness a thousand fold.

The question of the source whence the Siamese derived the art of writing was still in debate during the first decade of this century. The internal evidence—the number of its letters together with their remarkable classification and arrangement—made it certain that its ultimate source was in India. But because Buddhism had long been the established religion of Farther India, it was usually assumed that the art of writing came to Siam as it came earlier to Burma, the gift of Buddhist missionaries from Ceylon; and that its proximate source was the Pali, and not the Sanskrit.

During the first decade of this century the researches of French archaeologists in their newly acquired territory in Anam and Cambodia prompted me to look into the origin and development of alphabetic writing in Siam. The earliest known monument of that writing is a certain inscription on stone discovered some ninety

years ago among the ruins of Sukhōthai the ancient capital of Lower Siam. In it the author, Prince Rām Khamhæng, claims to be the one who brought the art of writing into use in Siam. He says: "Heretofore there were none of these letters for writing Siamese speech. In 1205, year of the Goat (1283-84 A. D.) Prince Rām Khamhæng earnestly desired and longed for them, and put these Siamese letters into use. So now we have them because that Prince used them."

The Prince seems careful not to say that he invented or adapted them. That must have been the work of a gifted and trained scholar; for this seems to be the first recorded attempt to incorporate in the spelling of words the tonal system of a language like that of the Siamese. Indeed from what the Prince says elsewhere in this inscription we can pretty safely guess that the one who accomplished this task was none other than the honored and beloved scholar from Ligor whom the Prince "made Sangharaja, who knew the Tripitaka from beginning to end, learned above all others in the realm." Whoever he was, his scheme remains in use today practically unchanged.²

But where did he get these characters? A study of the principal types of Indian alphabets from Asoka's time down to that of Rām Khamhæng made it clear that the Sukhōthai letters could not have been derived from any of them. A study then of Sanskrit inscriptions from Champa and Cambodia ranging from the sixth to the thirteenth centuries showed that the earlier alphabets of this series closely resembled the contemporary alphabets from India; while the later ones departed more and more from the forms then current in India, and approximated more and more toward the Sukhōthai type; until in the very latest inscription from Angkor Wat—without date, but from internal evidence judged to be of the thirteenth century—there was found an alphabet practically identical with that of the Sukhōthai inscription. Indeed the very differences between four or five of the Sukhōthai letters and the corresponding ones from Angkor Wat serve to confirm the identity of their source. For they are seen to be characters that were purposely altered from the Cambodian originals to avoid confusion with other letters which they had come to resemble too closely.³

² Cf. *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. 5, part 9, 1909.

³ Cf. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* for 1912, p. 23.

During the brief period of the supremacy of the Sukhōthai line of princes, Rām Khamhæng's letters underwent such considerable change toward their present form that there can be no doubt that the modern Siamese writing is directly descended from them, even though there remains a gap of some two hundred years from which so far no record whatever has been secured.⁴

THE ALPHABET

The Siamese alphabet, like its ancestors the Semitic and the Indian alphabets, includes consonants only. Vowels were an afterthought in all alphabetic writing in Asia. The consonant-sounds distinguished in Siamese speech are twenty-two, as shown in Table I below, listed there by orders and classes as in the Sanskrit from which they are derived. The Siamese has added but one new sound to the Sanskrit list, namely the spirant *f*. On the other hand thirteen of the Sanskrit consonant-sounds are unknown in Siamese speech. The letters for these sounds are still retained in the Siamese alphabet for use in writing loan-words from the Sanskrit and the Pali; but in pronunciation each one of them is identified with one or another of the related Siamese consonants.

TABLE I. The Consonant Sounds in Siamese Speech.

Gutturals	k	kh		ng	Semivowels	y	r	l	w
Palatals	c	ch			Sibilant	s			
Dentals	t	th	d	n	Breathing	h			
Labials	p	ph	b	f	m	Glottal Stop	ʋ	and	:

The two strange characters at the bottom of the list call for some explanation. The first is the old Semitic pictograph of Aleph, the ox—the same which, inverted, heads all our European alphabets as a vowel. But throughout Southern Asia it still retains its original character as a true consonant sound—a voiceless stop like initial *p*, *t*, and *k*. Like these it represents the click of sudden

⁴ As the use of Rām Khamhæng's letters spread northward toward the sources of the Menam River, there was developed a beautiful monumental script which continued in use in the northern monasteries almost down to our times. During the period of Burmese ascendancy in that region the round Burmese characters came into use for secular purposes. These are now being displaced by the standard Siamese characters throughout the area under Siamese control.

release of a closure in the air-passage.⁵ The other is the Sanskrit *visarga*, and it represents the corresponding snap of closure at the same point. The two therefore together form one complete consonant with two distinct phases, initial and final; and rightly the two should have been listed together under one symbol as one consonant, just as was done with *p*, *t*, and *k*. The operation of the two may be described as follows; for the *Aleph* phase contact takes place in the glottis itself, where the vocal chords are brought together and held tense and silent for an instant, until the accumulating air-pressure springs them suddenly apart, throwing them into immediate and strong vibration. The following vowel-note is thus launched forth with uncommon power and brilliance. Singers call this action "attack," and use it with fine effect. It is also frequently heard in the Cockney dialect where it takes the place of an *h* that has been dropped. The *visarga* phase is the reverse of the *Aleph*. While the chords are in full vibration sounding a vowel-note, they are abruptly silenced by swinging them suddenly together, thus completely closing the air-passage. *Visarga* is therefore a guillotine-stop, which with startling effectiveness beheads what would otherwise have been a final vowel. In Siamese the very same thing happens also to any vowel before final *p*, *t*, and *k*; though of course the contact then takes place in other parts of the vocal apparatus, where it can be easily observed. In English these consonants are audibly exploded before we pass on to the next word; but in Siamese there is no audible escape of breath after the closure. The Siamese says *yěp'*, *yăt'*, and *yik'* precisely as the American street Arab says *yep'* for *yes*. In Siamese then these three consonants are also of the guillotine sort as well as *visarga*.

To facilitate reference and comparison there is shown in Table II the Sanskrit alphabet arranged in orders and classes according to the ancient scheme—a marvel of accurate analysis and grouping.

TABLE II. The Sanskrit Alphabet.

Gutturals	k	kh	g	gh	ng	Semivowels	y	r	l	v
Palatals	c	ch	j	jh	ñ	Sibilants	ç	ś	s	
Cerebrals	ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ	Breathing	h			
Dentals	t	th	d	dh	n					
Labials	p	ph	b	bh	m					

⁵ Throughout this paper I shall use this character and the name *Aleph*

In Table III is shown the consonantal alphabet of present Siamese, romanized in general according to the scheme in use among European students of Siamese. I have, however, used italics for the thirteen letters not used in writing native Siamese words, but needed for transliterating Sanskrit and Pali. Dotted lines connecting the two letters of six pairs in the Table indicate that the right hand one is a new letter derived by some slight variation from its neighbor on the left. A seventh derivative—the second *h*—has not been derived from the *h* beside it, but from *v* in the group of Middle Letters, too distant to permit the use of the connecting line.

TABLE III. The Siamese Consonant Letters.

MIDDLE	HIGH	LOW			
k	kh	kh	kh	ng	
c	ch	ch . . . s ²	ch	ñ	
q . . . t	th	th	th	n	
d . . . t	th	th	th	n	
b . . . p	ph . . . f ¹	ph . . . f ²	ph	m	
:	ç s s ¹ h	h y r l	w		

THE VOWELS

In Siamese there are eighteen vowels as against thirteen in Sanskrit. Our English language has five vowel letters; but each of these does duty for from two to five different vowel sounds, and these shade off into each other by such uncertain gradations that it is almost impossible to tell just how many vowel sounds we have. The Siamese vowels fall into three series as shown in Table IV, all diverging from a common center in the vowel *ā*, the most open one of them all. In each series the progress is steadily from open to close, but along different lines of closure, until at the end of each a point is reached beyond which further approximation results in closure on a consonant-sound. In each series the vowels are grouped in pairs of short and long, the short being also the more open in every pair except the first, where long *ā*, being the most open of all, must stand first. In their several series these vowels are accurately spaced like the semitones of the musical scale, and each is uttered

to designate this unfamiliar consonant-sound, hoping thereby to dissociate it entirely from the vowel *a* with which in most of our minds it is continually confused.

in English. But a trained ear soon discovers that few of them are exactly like ours. Thus the Siamese long *ē* is held true to pitch to the very end, without any change in the position of the vocal organs; whereas the corresponding vowel in English speech is at the very least a full diphthong, as in *they* (*e* + *i*), while in the London dialect the range is increased to cover the whole gamut from *ā* to *i*—witness the *Daily Mail* and the policeman's reassuring words at the street-crossing—"Don't be afraid, laidy." The very same thing happens to long *ō*, which none of us pronounce without *ū*^w for a vanish.

I do not cite these examples in criticism of any one's pronunciation. I am well aware that we all, east and west, are equally aberrant in these matters. And, after all, language is the most democratic institution in the whole world. Imperial Caesar himself could not give citizenship unto words. But I wish thus by contrast to call your attention to one of the most beautifully complete and accurate pieces of phonetic development to be found anywhere in the world. And the wonder of it grows when we reflect that it was not so planned by anybody, nor was the speech shaped to fit the scheme. On the contrary, the Thai race itself, confined as it was within its monosyllabic word-form, was compelled to make use of every available resource to increase its word-list. One such resource was the addition of 'tones' to the bare frame-work of consonants and vowels. The other was the careful filling of the whole vowel-area with vowels accurately spaced—far enough apart to insure distinction between them, and near enough together so that no vacant spaces should be left. And the diphthongs, which we take up next, show an equally clear-cut and systematic arrangement.

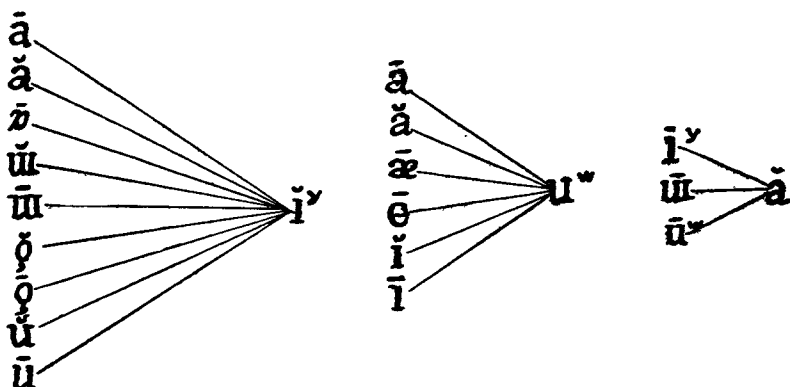
THE DIPHTHONGS

A diphthong is a vocal glide starting from a definite point in the vocal field, and landing at another point far enough away to insure effective contrast. It is thus exactly like the *portamento* in vocal music. The Siamese diphthong is no uncertain and indefinite slip by which one vowel shifts 'unbeknownst' into a neighbor's place. It is rather a bold leap from end to end of either octave, or across the intervening space from one series to the other, as shown in Table V.

There are here eighteen diphthongs, all in perfectly symmetrical arrangement. Not quite all possible combinations are found in this

scheme, but all of these are in actual use. The lack of 'voice' noted in the consonantal group is more than made good here and in the tonal group. And to the 'tones' we are now come.

TABLE V. The Diphthongs.



THE TONES AND THEIR NOTATION IN WRITING

Intonations of the voice accompany all forms of speech. In most languages they constitute a rhetorical annotation to the phrase and sentence, marking the points of emphasis, lighting up the bare words with color and feeling, and sometimes accompanying the thought with music. Such intonations are of no fixed pattern, nor are they necessary for the right understanding of individual words. In certain languages, however—such as the Chinese and the Siamese—these tonal inflections are of fixed form, and are essential elements of individual words, quite as necessary to the pronunciation and understanding of them as are the vowels and consonants that make up their articulate framework. Thus, for example, the simple syllable *nā*, when pronounced with five different intonations, becomes five different words, namely: with mid-rising tone, *ˊ*nā means *thick*; with circumflex, *ˆ*nā means *aunt*; with mid-level tone —*nā* means *rice-field*; with low-level tone —*nā* means *indeed*; and with falling tone *ˋ*nā means *face*.⁷ So far as I know, such

⁷ For the indication of these tones in the text I have used the excellent scheme of Sir George A. Grierson, set forth in his article 'On the Representation of Tones in Oriental Languages,' cf. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Oct. 1920.

intonation of individual words is confined to monosyllabic languages, and in their case, as we have seen, resort to it may be necessary to provide a sufficient vocabulary. In Siamese there are five of these tones that may be applied to long vowels, namely the five just given in the illustrative examples above. Of each of the five the general figure or pattern of movement—that which distinguishes it as rising, falling, circumflex, and so on—is fixed, as is also the general relation of each figure to the central register of the individual voice. But the actual dimension of each movement—its height, its depth, and its reach—vary with the mood and the degree of emphasis of each utterance.

In Table VI below the five figures on the left show the general pattern of each of the five tones of long vowels, together with its position in the field of pitch. On the right are the two short tones of vowels syncopated by stop-consonants. Each of these figures is a generalization from a number of figures plotted from instrumental measurements of the pitch of the voice as ascertained from actual records.⁸

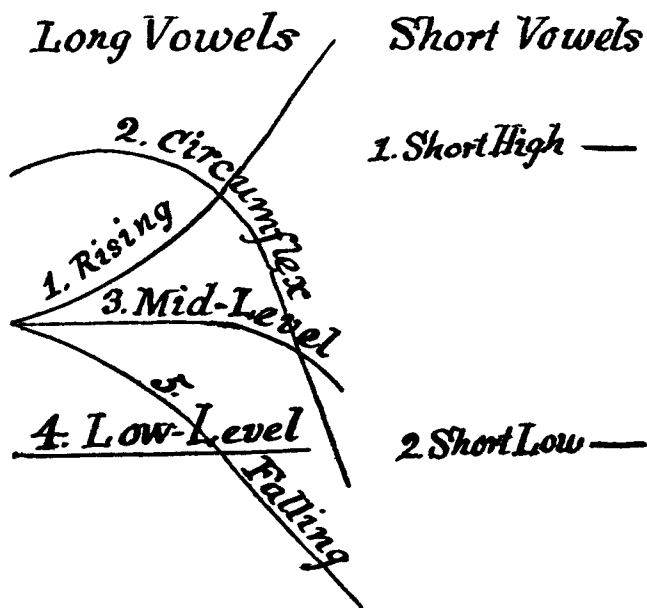
The most remarkable feature of Siamese writing, I suppose, is the scheme by which it indicates the intonation of most of its words by choice of the letters used in spelling them, so that the tone is incorporated into the very structure of the written word. This is made possible by the fact that many of its consonant-sounds have duplicate letters to represent them in writing. Though consonants are not vocal, and therefore cannot voice the intonations—a thing which is the function of the vowel alone—nevertheless they may be so sorted and used as to indicate the tones of the vowels and diphthongs with which they are associated. This has been so successfully accomplished that the intonation of perhaps two-thirds or more of all native Siamese words is distinctly indicated in their spelling. Two diacritical marks suffice to determine the intonation of the remaining third. Before explaining how this is accomplished, let us note certain things that condition the process.

1. Every word in Siamese speech begins with a consonant. There is in it no such thing as an initial vowel. Every vowel that to an untrained ear seems to be initial is really introduced both in

⁸ For the process of measuring and plotting the tones cf. *Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Univ. of California*, vol. II, No. 5, Oct. 1916.

speech and in writing by the consonant *v*. Similarly every word with a short vowel takes a consonant ending. Now the only consonant-sounds allowed to stand in final position are the three nasals, *m*, *n*, and *ng*, with the four voiceless stops *p*, *t*, *k*, and *visarga*. When final, these stops are never exploded, as has already been explained. Other consonant-letters do sometimes appear in the final position, but this occurs regularly only in loan-words from the Sanskrit or Pali, which retain their original spelling. In pronunciation, however, all such final letters are identified with one or other of the consonant-sounds named above.

TABLE VI. The Tones.



2. Each consonant letter is endowed with an inherent tone of its own—a tone which it, being a consonant, cannot of itself voice, and therefore passes on to be voiced for it by its attendant vowel. The vowel will voice it perfectly provided it be a long vowel—that is, if it has time enough to execute the tonal figure properly; and provided also that the following consonant, if there be one, does not disturb the result by interference of *its* inherent

tone. Now when the Siamese alphabet is learned and recited, the names of all the letters are pronounced by the help of one and the same long vowel, *ō*. It receives and voices in succession the tone supposedly inherent in each letter. While learning the alphabet, therefore, the Siamese child learns simultaneously and without analysis these four things: the name of each letter, its precise articulation, its place in the alphabetic sequence, and the particular tone that each letter imposes upon the long open *ō* that voices them all. This last item perhaps may seem of no great importance. Barely two tones are involved in it—the mid-level and the high—together with some forty consonant-letters. But note how the field widens when we reflect that every one of these letters will impose its inherent tone alike on any long vowel or any diphthong that follows it in an open syllable. Now there are nine such vowels and eighteen diphthongs, making in combination with these consonants a total of some eleven hundred possible syllables, the tone of every one of which is determined by what one has learned about the inherent tones of consonants while memorizing the alphabet. The scheme is in fact that of a mental card-catalogue applied to the immense and unsorted mass of words in the language. Each consonant letter heads a list of twenty-seven vocables of similar structure and identical intonation. The Siamese alphabet becomes thus a real syllabary, though not so designated.

We come now to the first listed syllabary. In it are included all the recognized combinations of each of these consonants with each of the simple vowels both long and short. It thus establishes an official vowel-sequence to parallel the consonant-sequence of the alphabet. And as before, the tone resulting from each combination of vowel and consonant is learned along with the other features of each vocable. This repeats, of course, in part, what was learned about the long-vowel combinations in learning the alphabet. But that is only good pedagogy; it not only reinforces what was taught before, but also incorporates with it new knowledge, and carries its application into a new field. In Syllabary I the first consonant is 'conjugated' thus: —*kō*, —*kā*, —*kī*, —*kī*, —*kū*, —*kū*, —*kū*, —*kē*, —*kē*, —*kāi*, —*kō*, —*kāu*, —*kām*,⁹ —*kā*:. The other consonants

⁹ The combination *am* here represents the Sanskrit *anusvara*, a nasalized vowel. Therefore it appears here in the vowel series. But in Siamese speech it has become a closed syllable with a final consonant *m*.

now follow in order with the same conjugation, each however with its own inherent intonation when the vowel is long, but with modified intonation when the vowel is short. For in this position the short vowels carry an unwritten *visarga*; every such syllable therefore is really closed, and not open as it seems to be. In this syllabary, it should be noted, we have added a new tone to our list—the short low tone.

Next in order come six syllabaries showing the spelling and the resulting intonation of all closed syllables with simple vowels both long and short—one syllabary for each of the six possible final consonants not counting *visarga*, which has been provided for elsewhere. The six fall into two distinct groups; three with final nasal consonants, and three with final stops. The vowel-sequence of Syllabary I is in general continued in both groups, with however a few necessary additions. Throughout the first, the intonation is confined to the two tones inherent in initial consonants, namely the rising and the mid-level; for the nasals are sonant and merely continue the inherent tone without altering it.

The second group—the one with final stop-consonants—introduces two new long tones caused by reaction of the initial and the final consonants on a *long* medial vowel. The first tone is the low-level one, and it occurs whenever in this syllabic combination the initial consonant is either a middle or a high-class letter; e. g. *—sōk*, *—hēt*. The second is the falling tone, and it occurs whenever in like circumstances the initial letter is of the low class; e. g. *—rāk*, *—yōt*. The two short tones, high and low, also appear in this syllabary, both of course only with *short* vowels—the high tone following low initials, and the low tone following the high initials. Examples are: *—rāt* and *—yōt* of the one, and *—sāk* and *—hēt* of the other.

The last syllabary supposedly deals with final diphthongs. Of these, as I have stated, I find but eighteen in present Siamese. But here are listed no less than thirty-three. The additions are in part variant spellings of syllables already included elsewhere; others are syllables with simple vowel-sounds and not diphthongs at all; and a number are syllables closed by *visarga*. So far as its organization is concerned, this syllabary is confused and unsatisfactory. But it does at least establish a definite and memorable sequence, which is after all the important thing—a sequence which when once learned enables one in a moment to run down in mem-

ory and ascertain the precise spelling, pronunciation, and intonation of any one of the 1452 monsyllables included in it. The sum total of all syllables included in these lists amounts to nearly seven thousand possible words.¹⁰

At this point the regular study of the syllabaries usually comes to an end—but not the use of them. For there remain to be included within the scope of their application some three thousand vocables more, derived from ‘conjugating’ through all these sequences the various compound initials made up of the consonant-stops *plus* l, r, and w. Even so we are not yet at the end. There must be reckoned in also the tonal variants to be derived from the use of the diacritical marks yet to be described. A conservative estimate of these additions would be perhaps five thousand more, bringing the grand total of possible vocables up to some twelve thousand.

The three following rules cover all the cases so far dealt with, namely those in which no diacritical mark is needed to determine the tone—that is, in about three-fourths of all native Siamese words, and in practically all words of foreign origin that have become fully naturalized.

I. Any initial consonant will give its inherent tone—the tone in which its name is pronounced—to any *final* long vowel or diphthong that follows it; and also to any vowel long or short, or to any diphthong, in a syllable that ends in either of the nasals *m*, *n*, and *ng*; for these consonants are vocal, and continue the tone of the preceding vowel. (Cf. *a* and *b* of Classes 1 and 2 in Table VII below.)

II. Any initial letter of either the high or the middle class will give the low-level tone to any *long* vowel or diphthong that follows it in a syllable closed by any one of the consonant stops; and will give the corresponding short-low to any *short* vowel similarly placed. (Cf. *ibid.* *c* of Classes 1 and 2.)

III. Any low initial consonant will give the falling tone to any diphthong or *long* vowel in a syllable closed by a consonant-stop; but will give the short-high tone to any short vowel similarly placed. (Cf. *ibid.* Class 3, *c* and *d*.)

¹⁰ The writer cannot remember where or when he learned these syllabaries; but he stands ready to repeat on demand any one of the sequences under any designated consonant in any one of the eight lists.

For visual summation of these principles, and for ready reference, there is given in Table VII a schematic presentation of all the various syllabic types included under the operation of these three rules, together with examples of the resulting tone under each type. In it the letters H, M, and L represent initial letters of the high, middle, and low classes respectively; the macron and the breve that follow these letters represent long and short vowels that follow these initials; N and S represent final nasals and stops. In each example cited the tone resulting from that particular combination of consonants and vowel is indicated by a symbol prefixed to the initial letter of the word according to the scheme of Sir George A. Grierson already mentioned; namely : / indicates the mid-rising tone; \ the mid-falling tone; ˘ the circumflex; — the mid-level; _ the low-level; ˊ the short-high; and ˋ the short-low. Each of these symbols is a rough approximation to the figure or pattern of movement of the voice as shown in Table VI. The level of its start and finish will roughly indicate its general position in the field of pitch.

TABLE VII.

Typical Syllabic Combinations and the Resulting Tones.

1. High Class Initials

a.	H —	/khā	/sāu	/phĩu
b.	H ˘ N	/hĩn	/hūang	/sɔ̃ng
c.	H ˘ S	_sāk	_sūp	_sīat

2. Middle Class Initials

a.	M —	—kā	—tō	—klūa
b.	M ˘ N	—kō̃ng	—kūan	—bā̃ng
c.	M ˘ S	—pāk	—kɔ̃:	—dĩp

3. Low Class Initials

a.	L —	—lāi	—rēu	—wā
b.	L ˘ N	—thān	—thō̃ng	—wēn
c.	L — S	\r̃ət	\rāk	\thiāp
d.	L ˘ S	ˊlōt	ˋrāk	ˋmēt

THE DIACRITICAL MARKS

We come at length to the diacritical marks, the function of which is to cause certain modifications of the tones imposed by the syllabic scheme, and thus increase its range. The two most important are named *—ēk* and *—thō* after the Sanskrit numerals *éka* and *dvī*, i. e. 1 and 2. Indeed in shape they so nearly resemble these figures of ours that I shall presently use ours to represent theirs in the list below.¹¹ They are written directly over the vowel which they are intended to modify. *—ēk* changes to the low-level both the rising tone of *1a* and *1b* in the syllabic scheme above, and the mid-level tone of *2a* and *2b*; *—thō* changes the syllabic tones of these same four groups to the falling tone, but raises to the circumflex the mid-level tones of *3a* and *3b*.¹²

In the following scheme are shown the effects of these two diacritics on syllables of types *a* and *b* from each of the three letter classes of Table VII.

	Without Diacritic	Diacritic <i>ēk</i>	Diacritic <i>thō</i>
1 <i>a</i>	/hā	<i>—</i> ¹ hā	<i>↘</i> ² hā
1 <i>b</i>	/hūang	<i>—</i> ¹ hūang	<i>↘</i> ² hūang
2 <i>a</i>	—kē	<i>—</i> ¹ kē	<i>↘</i> ² kē
2 <i>b</i>	—kōng	<i>—</i> ¹ kōng	<i>↘</i> ² kōng
3 <i>a</i>	—rāi	<i>↘</i> ¹ rāi	<i>↗</i> ² rāi
3 <i>b</i>	—thōng	<i>↘</i> ¹ thōng	<i>↗</i> ² thōng

A glance at Table III will show that the letters of the low class outnumber those of the two other classes together. All the nasals and all the semivowels are found in the low class alone, thus destroying the balance of the whole tonal system. To remedy this

¹¹ These names indicate clearly their Indian derivation, but neither in shape nor in name do they resemble the corresponding numerals in use in Siam.

¹² They are not applied to syllables of type *c* because in them the low-level and the falling tones are already represented syllabically; nor in type *d* because the short vowel does not afford them sufficient scope.

defect, and to render these low-class letters capable of service in the two higher groups, it was devised that one high-class letter—*h*—and one middle-class letter—*v*—be commissioned to act as ushers, introducing low-class semivowels and nasals whenever these are needed, and clothing them for the nonce with all the tonal powers and functions of the usher. The letters chosen were both in themselves unobtrusive and not likely to cause trouble by being mistaken for the real initials of the syllable. Thus was the disparity between the tonal classes effectively removed.

By way of bringing this intricate and tedious dissertation to an end, allow me to recite a short specimen of the thing itself—a Siamese “jaw-breaker” which, for ingenious bewilderment by means of homoiophones, I am sure does not fall behind our “Theophilus Thistle the Thistle-sifter,” while in *coloratura* of intonation it certainly leaves that far behind.

Miss Soi's Adventures Afield

—Nāng \Soī /soī \sōm
Miss Soi pick orange

—hom \sūa —hōp —sūa /nī /sūa
wear jacket lug mat flee tiger

\khūn \tōn —khāng /hēn \khāng
climb tree khāng see ape

—hāk —kīng —khāng \khwāng \khāng
break branch khāng throw ape

—thūk /sī \khāng \khāng ˘khāng _king —khāng —tāi
hit side ape lodge branch khāng die.

A NEW CENSUS OF THE MOSLEM WORLD

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER

NEW YORK CITY

A CENSUS of the number of Mohammedans in the world is desirable because the discrepancies in the different statistical surveys attempted by various authorities and hitherto published are as disconcerting as they are surprising. Most of the estimates, it is true, have been made by Western writers, but they have often repeated figures given by Moslems, or, in some case, by pro-Islamic orators who exaggerate totals. During the negotiations of the Peace Treaty of Sevres, for example, an Indian Mohammedan wrote an appeal on behalf of the 400,000,000 Moslems of the world! In the *Revue du Monde Musulman*, Vol. 4, pp. 770-798, there is a long review of a book *Siyahat ul Kubra*—The Great Travels—by Suleiman Chukri Bey, printed at St. Petersburg in 1907, in which this Moslem globe-trotter gives the total Moslem population of the world as 360,766,695 of which 10,719,658 are in Europe, 218,789,957 in Asia, 98,952,000 in Africa and 32,305,000 in the islands of the Indian Ocean! *El Moayyad*, a Cairo newspaper, dated 9th November 1909, gave the total population of the Moslem world as 270,000,000, but of these 40,000,000 were said to live in China, where we know there are less than 12,000,000. In another case to which the late Rev. H. H. Jessop, D. D., called attention, the Sublime Porte under the Hamidian Regime carefully copied a survey of the Moslem world published in the *Missionary Review of the World* in 1898, and gave it as an accurate census taken under the supervision of the Sultan and at his expense! His letter on the subject dated Beirut, October 15, 1900, reads:—

“I once translated your statistical summary of the number of Moslems in the world, 196,000,000, and showed it to the Mudir al Maarif. He took it and afterwards replied that it could not be published, as the Emperor William in Damascus had spoken publicly of the Moslems as 300,000,000! I told him the Emperor was simply quoting the exaggerated statement of a Moslem Sheikh at the dinner table, but the Mudir kept it and sent it to Constantinople and now it has come out as the official census made by the Sultan’s Government and published by the Turk!”

The following table gives other more careful estimates from

various sources given in the order of totals, beginning with the highest estimate:—

Hubert Jansen, <i>Verbreitung des Islams</i> (1898).....	259,680,672
C. H. Becker in Baedeker's <i>Egypt</i> (German edition).....	250,000,000
H. Wichman in Justus Perthes' <i>Atlas</i> , 1903.....	240,000,000
<i>The Mohammedan World of Today</i> , Cairo Conference 1906...	232,996,170
Lawrence Martin, in <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , March, 1923.....	230,000,000
Martin Hartmann, 1910.....	223,985,780
Whitaker's <i>Almanac</i> , 1919 (English edition).....	221,825,000
Summary of the Moslem World, <i>The Moslem World</i> , April, 1914	201,296,696
Lucknow Conference Report, 1911 estimate.....	200,000,000
S. M. Zwemer, in <i>Missionary Review of the World</i> , 1898.....	196,491,842
<i>Encyclopaedia of Missions</i> , 1904.....	193,550,000
<i>Allgemeine Missionzeitschrift</i> , 1902.....	175,290,000
Brockhaus' <i>Konvers.-Lexikon</i> , 1894.....	175,000,000

The most detailed statistics can be found in Jansen, but they are not reliable and are generally over-estimated, especially in regard to Siam, China and the Philippine Islands as well as the former German Colonies in Africa and Abyssinia, where he finds no less than 800,000 Mohammedans. Generally speaking, the population of countries such as Morocco, Persia, Arabia, and Northern Equatorial Africa, (where there are large desert tracts) has been estimated too high.

In preparing our new estimate there are several large areas concerning which we are able to speak with much greater accuracy than was the case in the survey made before the World War of 1914. The China Continuation Committee Survey has given us careful statistics regarding China and census reports of more recent dates are now available for India, Malaysia, Egypt and several other countries.

The total of the Moslem world according to this new estimate is 234,814,989. Of these 105,723,000 are under the British rule and protection; and under other Western governments in possession of colonies are 94,482,077 in all.

DISTRIBUTION BY GOVERNMENTS.

Under British Rule or Occupation

In Africa.....	28,910,000
In Asia.....	76,788,000
In Australia.....	25,000
	<hr/> 105,723,000

*Other Western Governments**In Africa:—*

Belgium	1,764,000
France	28,502,332
Italy	1,659,000
Portugal	239,000
Spain	594,500
Abyssinia and Liberia.....	800,000

In Asia, etc.:—

United States and Moros.....	597,999
Dutch	39,000,000
French	341,860
Russia (Asia and Europe).....	15,320,000
Europe (outside Turkey).....	2,469,957
Central and South America.....	193,429

 94,482,077

This leaves in round numbers only 33,000,000 Mohammedans not under Western governments. Of this number, only 8,321,000 remain under Turkish Rule in what was once the Ottoman Empire or only a little over three per cent. of the whole Moslem world population.

Another fact deserves attention. Professor Margoliouth states (*Mohammedanism*, p. 14) that "Islam in the main is a religion of the heat belt, the part of the earth's surface which lies between 30 degrees N. Latitude and 30 degrees S. Latitude with a mean temperature of 68° F.," and quotes Mr. Alleyn Ireland as saying: "During the past five hundred years the people of this belt have added nothing whatever to human advancement. Those natives of the tropics and sub-tropics who have not been under direct European influence have not during that time made a single contribution of the first importance to art, literature, science, manufacture or invention. They have not produced an engineer, or a chemist, or a biologist, or a historian or printer or a musician of the first rank." But a study of our statistics shows that such generalizations are rash, for Islam has extended far to the north and south of this heat belt and has outside this area a population of no less than 64,090,000. These are distributed as follows:—

In Morocco	5,000,000
Algeria	5,000,000
Tunis	1,890,000
Kashmir	3,000,000
Half of the Punjab.....	6,000,000

Russia	15,000,000
Three-quarters of China.....	6,000,000
Afghanistan	6,000,000
Turkey in Asia.....	8,000,000
Three-quarters of Persia.....	6,000,000
Europe	2,000,000
America	200,000

Total outside the Heat Belt..... 64,090,000

A much more important division of the Moslem world population than that by climate or even according to government is the classification of Moslems according to the character of their beliefs and practice.

Snouck Hurgronje, Warneck and Simon, for example, have conclusively shown that the Mohammedans of Malaysia are of animistic type and have little in common with Moslems as we know them in North Africa and Arabia. Of the total number who call themselves Moslems we must reckon, therefore, that perhaps sixty millions in Africa, Malaysia and part of India belong to this animistic type, or, in the words of Gottfried Simon, are really "heathen-Mohammedans." The Shiah sect in Persia and India is also a distinct group but does not count more than twelve millions. Perhaps from six to ten millions of the Moslem world population in Europe, South America, Algeria, Syria, Persia, Turkey, India and Egypt have so far adopted Western education and broken away from the old Islamic standards of the orthodox Traditions, that they should be separately classified as New Moslems. This would leave about one hundred and fifty million orthodox Moslems who follow the Sunna of the Prophet, and are therefore cognizant of the existence and the distinctions of the four great schools—Hanifi, Maliki, Shaf'i, Hanbali. The Hanifi are in the great majority and number perhaps ninety-three millions, chiefly in Turkey, India, Russia and Central Asia. The Maliki school is predominant in Upper Egypt and North Africa and numbers about twenty millions. The Shaf'i are found chiefly in Lower Egypt, Southern India, and Malaysia, numbering about thirty-five millions, while the Hanbali are found mostly in Central and Eastern Arabia and do not number over two millions altogether. From this school the Wahhabi and later the Akhwan movement sprang.

Another classification of Moslem population which is of considerable importance is that according to literacy. For two large areas

we have accurate returns, namely, British India and Egypt. For other lands we can only make estimates, based on investigations by missionaries and travellers. The figures of illiteracy for Egypt given according to the latest census indicate that of the Moslem population 9.9 per cent. of the men and 0.6 per cent. of the women can read. For India similar statistics are given in the census and are equally astounding in the revelation of the vast percentage of illiteracy. Based on these returns we have made estimates of other countries and the conclusion is that the total number of Moslems in the world able to read is less than eight million and of these less than 500,000 are women. These facts emphasize at once the intensive need of leadership for the educated classes of Islam and not less the inadequacy of the printed page to reach the masses unless supplemented by the living message in the vernacular speech.

The following table, which presents these facts in outline, provokes thought and lays before us at least one great factor in the problem of the Moslem world; because illiteracy, superstition and a high rate of infant mortality have been shown to be vitally and closely related in all lands.¹

COUNTRY OR STATE	TOTAL POPULATION	MOSLEM POPULATION	AUTHORITY
<i>North America</i>		11,000	
United States.....	114,511,514	11,000	Est. based on 1920 census, racial statistics
<i>Central and South America</i>		193,429	
Argentina	8,698,516	7,520	RMM 4: 314
Brazil	30,645,296	100,600	<i>ibid.</i>
Chile	3,753,723	150	<i>ibid.</i>
Cuba	2,889,004	2,500	<i>ibid.</i>
Guadeloupe	229,822	3,200	<i>ibid.</i>
Guiana, British.....	297,691	24,800	est. based on SYB 1922
Dutch	113,181	15,431	SYB 1922
French	49,000	1,570	RMM 4: 314

¹ List of abbreviations:

SYB = Statesman's Year Book, 1922.

PHB = Peace Hand Book; H. M. Stationery Office, 1920.

MW = Moslem World, Quarterly Review.

COL = Civil Office List.

RMM = Revue du Monde Musulman.

COUNTRY OR STATE	TOTAL POPULATION	MOSLEM POPULATION	AUTHORITY
Jamaica	857,921	3,000	est. based on SYB 1922
Martinique	244,439	2,700	RMM 4: 314
Mexico	15,501,684	4,453	SYB 1922
Paraguay	1,050,000	300	RMM 4: 314
Peru	4,620,201	500	<i>ibid.</i>
Trinidad	391,279	26,000	est. based on SYB 1922
Uruguay	1,494,953	500	RMM 4: 314
Venezuela	2,411,952		
Windward Is.....	162,702	205	RMM 4: 314
<i>Australia</i>	5,436,794	25,000	For. Affairs 1: 139
<hr/>			
<i>Polynesia</i>			
Fiji	162,604	15,000	MW 9: 265
<hr/>			
<i>Europe</i>		17,789,957	
<hr/>			
Albania	1,400,000	830,000	SYB 1922
Bulgaria	4,861,439	672,500	PHB 22, p. 8
Greece	5,447,077	475,000	For. Affairs 1: 139
Hungary	7,840,832		
Montenegro	450,000	105,000	PHB 19, p. 36
Rumania	17,393,149	44,087	SYB 1922
Russia			
European	93,387,923	15,200,000	Arnold Toynbee in <i>Journ. Asiatic Soc.</i> , Vol. 5, parts 1, 2
Minor Areas.....	21,404,745		
Siberia	9,257,825	120,000	est. of Min. of Interior MW 6: 203
Serb-Croat-Slov. State	11,337,686	343,370	Census 1920
<hr/>			
<i>Africa</i>	125,806,771	59,444,397	
<hr/>			
Belgian Congo.....	11,008,221	1,764,000	est. based on report of Gov. 1917 and PHB 199, p. 47
Portuguese			
Guinea	289,000	100,000	est. based on Wester- mann, MW 4: 150
Mozambique	3,120,000	130,000	<i>ibid.</i>
Spanish			
Rio de Oro & Adrar.	80,000	79,500	est. based on PHB 124, p. 8 and 17
Ifni	20,000	20,000	<i>ibid.</i>
Spanish Morocco...	600,000	495,000	est. of Count Merry del Val, MW 10: 408

COUNTY OR STATE	TOTAL POPULATION	MOSLEM POPULATION	AUTHORITY
Abyssinia	est. 4,000,000	est. 2,000,000	SYB 1922
Liberia	2,000,000	300,000	PHB 130, p. 20
Italian			
Eritrea	405,681	300,000	PHB 126, p. 19
Somaliland	650,000	650,000	PHB 128, p. 14
Libia	1,000,000	700,000	SYB 1922
French			
Algeria	5,800,974	4,979,547	SYB 1922
Congo	9,000,000	5,700,000	est. based on PHB 108, p. 17
Mayotte & Comores.	97,617 }		
Madagascar	3,545,575 }	75,000	Westermann, MW4:151
Somaliland	65,000	65,000	PHB 109, p. 16
West Africa			
Senegal	1,225,523	1,225,000	PHB 100, p. 3
Guinea	1,875,996	1,563,000	est. based on PHB 103, p. 5 and 6
Ivory Coast.....	1,545,680	305,000	est. based on 1913 A.E. and pop. increase
Dahomey	842,243	294,000	est. based on PHB 105, p. 6
Sudan	2,473,606	1,551,000	Annuaire de gouv't. 1922
Upper Volta.....	2,973,442	444,000	<i>ibid.</i>
Mauritania	261,746	250,000	PHB 106, p. 9
Terr. of Niger...	1,084,042	1,084,042	
Tunis	2,093,939	1,889,388	SYB 1922
Morocco	5,487,800	5,323,495	<i>ibid.</i>
British			
Uganda	3,071,608	73,000	PMB 96, p. 53
Nyasaland	1,201,519	50,000	est. of C. H. Patton, "Lure of Africa," p. 61
Egypt	12,750,918	11,658,148	SYB 1922
Sudan	3,400,000	1,793,000	Gov't Almanac 1916
Kenya	2,630,000	427,000	est. of L. Martin, For. Affairs 1: 139
Tanganyika	7,659,898	1,276,600	est. of C. H. Patton, "Lure of Africa," p. 61
Zanzibar & Pemba..	196,733	183,600	SYB 1922
Basutoland	500,544		
Bechuanaland	152,983		
Rhodesia	1,735,000	9,035	COL 1913 & pop. in- crease
Swaziland	133,563		
Union of So. Africa.	6,922,813	45,842	SYB 1922
Nigeria	16 250,000	10,833,000	est. of C. H. Patton, "Lure of Africa," p. 61

COUNTRY OR STATE	TOTAL POPULATION	MOSLEM POPULATION	AUTHORITY
Gambia	240,000	28,800	PHB 112, p. 17
Gold Coast.....	2,029,750	101,400	PHB 91, p. 13
Sierra Leone.....	1,403,132	300,000	COL 1913 corrected by pop. increase
Togoland	1,032,125	500,000	est. based on PHB 10, p. 24
Cameroons	2,649,000	578,000	est. based on Wester- man MW 4: 150
Somaliland	300,000	300,000	SYB 1922
Asia and Islands.....		157,336,206	
British			
Aden & Perim.....	54,923	54,000	SYB 1922
Sokotra & Kuria Muria	12,000	12,000	<i>ibid.</i>
Bahrein Is.....	110,000	109,000	<i>ibid.</i>
Borneo	208,183	162,500	<i>ibid.</i>
Brunei	25,454	23,900	<i>ibid.</i>
Sarawak	600,000	150,000	est. of W. G. Shella- bear, MW 9: 379
Ceylon	4,504,283	302,000	SYB 1922
Maldiv Is.....	70,199	70,199	MW 13: 67
India & Dependencies	319,075,132	70,000,000	SYB 1922 est.
Straits Settlements.	883,769	258,791	est. of W. G. Shella- bear, MW 9: 379
Fed. Malay States...	1,324,890	420,840	<i>ibid.</i>
Protected Malay States	1,123,264	758,060	<i>ibid.</i>
Cyprus	274,108	56,428	SYB 1922
Armenian Rep.....	1,214,391	670,000	SYB 1921
Azerbaijan	2,096,973	1,572,929	SYB 1922
Georgia	2,372,403	2,300,000	est of Arnold Toynbee, <i>Journ. Asiatic Soc.</i> , 5: Pt. 2 and 3
Mesopotamia	2,849,282	2,640,700	SYB 1922
Palestine	770,000	600,000	<i>ibid.</i>
Oman	500,000	500,000	<i>ibid.</i>
Persia	10,000,000	9,350,000	<i>ibid.</i>
Siam	9,121,000	150,000	est. of W. G. Shella- bear, MW 9: 379
Syria & Lebanon.....	3,400,000	3,000,000	SYB 1922
Turkey	8,961,900	8,321,000	SYB 1922
Arabia	3,400,000	3,400,000	<i>ibid.</i>
China			
China Proper.....	411,491,940	6,433,000	
Dependencies	16,540,000	2,703,000	China Cont. Committee

COUNTY OR STATE	TOTAL POPULATION	MOSLEM POPULATION	AUTHORITY
Afghanistan	6,380,500	6,380,000	est. based on L. Martin, For. Aff., 1: 139 and SYB 1922
East Indies			
Portuguese			
Timor	377,815	9,000	est. based on PHB 80, p. 3 and W. G. Shella- bear, MW 9: 379
American			
Philippines	10,350,730	586,999	SYB 1922
Dutch			
East Indies	49,303,321	36,000,000	est. of W. G. Shella- bear corrected by pop. increase
French			
India	265,200	13,260	PHB 77, p. 18
Indo-China	16,990,229	328,600	MW 8: 269

PHONETIC LAW AND IMITATION

E. H. STURTEVANT

YALE UNIVERSITY

THE PROUDEST ACHIEVEMENT of linguistic science is the demonstration of the existence of regular phonetic laws. For example, while Middle Westerners pronounce a spirant *r* before a consonant, as in *hard*, *hurt*, *horn*, natives of the Southeastern states speak such words without an *r*-sound. The loss of the *r* is regular in two respects: it has been lost by all speakers of the dialect in question, and it has been lost in all words in which it formerly stood before a consonant; the process exhibits regularity as between speakers and regularity as between words. It has been found that change of sound usually works in this way, and it is assumed by many scholars that it always and necessarily works thus within the limits of a single dialect, within a given period of time, provided the phonetic conditions of the change are fully taken into account.

The reasons for this regularity are, however, not yet fully agreed upon. The matter has been discussed for more than forty years, and many solutions of the problem or of parts of it have been proposed, but there is apparently as much diversity of opinion now as at the beginning of the debate. In fact a distinguished scholar¹ has remarked: "On this subject able men have made profound guesses, but only guesses after all."

The earliest attempt to explain the regularity of sound change was made by Herman Paul, whose *Principien der Sprachgeschichte* was published first in 1880, and in its fifth edition in 1920. According to Paul² we do not acquire and retain a memory picture of the motory sensations involved in the pronunciation of each separate word, but we remember instead the motory sensations connected with the production of each speech sound. Consequently, whenever we utter a given speech sound, in any word, the same mental picture of motory sensations comes to function.

¹ Sütterlin, *Werden und Wesen der Sprache*, p. 34.

² *Op. cit.*,⁴ pp. 49 ff.

For this reason, Paul holds that it is impossible to change a sound in one word without changing it in every other word in which it occurs. This is his explanation of the regularity of sound change as between words. Furthermore, each group of motory sensations is associated with a corresponding memory picture of auditory sensations belonging to the same speech sound. The auditory images are, as it were, composite photographs of sounds produced by all the speakers in one's environment. It is this fact which binds the several speakers of a community together and causes regularity as between speakers.

For a time this theory of Paul's seemed to be pretty generally accepted by the adherents of the school which held that sound change admits of no exception (the so-called young grammarians), but during the last twenty-five years dissent has occasionally been expressed,³ while latterly Paul is sometimes simply ignored,⁴ and even Brugmann,⁵ in his latest treatment of the question, differed from Paul in several vital respects.

Jespersen⁶ long ago pointed out that since phonetic change usually affects a sound only in certain surroundings (*e. g.*, in the South, *r* is lost only before a consonant and at the end of a word), we must assume a memory picture not for the motory sensations of each sound, but of each group of sounds. A similar but more far-reaching conclusion is necessary for phonetic reasons also. The movements necessary to the production of a sound differ with its surroundings. In pronouncing the *r* of *part*, the Middle Westerners must lift the tip of the tongue from the position which it occupies during the sound [a], namely near the middle of the floor of the mouth; but in pronouncing the same sound in *horn* he must lift it from a position somewhat further back, and at the same time he must eliminate the rounding of the lips which is involved in the sound [ɔ]. Similarly, the *r* position in Middle

³ *E. g.* Wheeler, *TAPA* 32, pp. 9 f.; Herzog, *Streitfragen der romanischen Philologie*, p. 21; Schrijnen-Fischer, *Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 84.

⁴ *E. g.* Sapir, *Language: an Introduction to the Study of Speech*; Jespersen, *Language: Its Nature, Development, and Origin*.

⁵ *Grundriss*¹ I, pp. 63 ff.; Brugmann-Thumb, *Griechische Grammatik*¹, pp. 5 ff.

⁶ Techmer's *Internationale Zeitschrift*, 3, pp. 206 f.

Western *part* is followed by a further elevation of the tongue-tip until it touches the upper gum, and at the same time the vocal chords cease to vibrate; but in *farm*, the tongue-tip is lowered, the lips closed, and the nasal passage opened after the production of the *r*-sound, while the vibration of the vocal chords continues. We must then assume a separate memory picture of motory sensations for each sound in each of its possible combinations, and also for each possible variation of stress or pitch.

Furthermore the phenomena of assimilation and dissimilation prove that each speech sound stands in relation to other sounds at a considerable distance from it. While these do not, as a rule, affect the actual movements of the speech organs in the production of the sound in question, they do modify the psychological state which accompanies and determines the production of the sound. This psychological state includes a memory picture of motory sensations but is more complex than that. Brugmann⁷ notes that we have completely identical phonetic conditions only in the case of homonyms such as Greek *τρῆς*, "three," and *τρέψς*, "you tremble." As a matter of fact, the surrounding words may influence a sound, as in many lapses, such as *Kelly and Sheets* for *Shelley and Keats*, and in dialectic Greek *ὅκτω* under the influence of *ἐπτά* in counting. In short we can infer an identical psychological basis for a given speech sound only in case a sentence is repeated with identical tone, accent, and tempo, and while the speaker is in precisely the same physiological and mental condition.

As far as I can see, Paul's theory is psychologically justified only in so far as it coincides with the law of habit. Our actions, whether in speech or not, tend to run in grooves to a certain extent. But habit is a matter of association, and association is the basis of analogy. Clearly Paul's followers will get little comfort out of building their theory of phonetic change on that foundation!

Even if we should grant the validity of the theory of a separate memory picture of motory sensations for each speech sound, it does not provide a cause for phonetic change, but only an explanation for the regularity of whatever change may occur. Paul emphasizes the fact that speech sounds are subject to constant slight variations. Under ordinary conditions the average of the

⁷ Brugmann-Thumb. *Griechische Grammatik*,⁴ p. 9.

variations remains constant, but whenever the speakers vary from the average in one direction more than in another, the average is thereby moved in that direction. Paul⁸ leaves to the physiologists the investigation of the reasons for a tendency to vary in one direction rather than in another.

Now it is obvious that any cause of sound change which operates upon all members of a community alike can gradually deflect pronunciation in a given direction, and the resulting change of sound will of course be regular, whether Paul's theory of motory sensation be true or false. One wonders, therefore, why Paul's theory has survived so long. Not only is it demonstrably false, but it involves the assumption of causes of phonetic change which would of themselves explain the regularity of the change.

It is quite clear that all members of a community may be subjected to a given impulse toward phonetic change. A strong stress accent tends to shorten and weaken the unaccented sounds until they finally vanish. An example of a regular sound change produced in this way is the weakening of vowels in Latin under the influence of the prehistoric stress on initial syllables. Similarly, the rhythmic tendency operates on all speakers, and thus regulates the secondary accent in many languages, notably French.⁹ It is likely that several other general characteristics of pronunciation, such as the speed of utterance and the energy of articulation, may cause regular changes of sound. All of these, however, are only proximate causes; we have still to inquire why a strong stress accent should develop in certain languages at certain times, why articulation is more rapid and more energetic in one language than in another, or at one time than at another. For the great majority of phonetic changes, moreover, we cannot name even such proximate causes as these.

Hence there have been a number of attempts to explain sound-change by variations in climate, by migrations into regions with different climatic conditions, by differences between the vocal organs of the young and of the old, by the use of the habits of

⁸ *Principien der Sprachgeschichte*, p. 65.

⁹ See Rousselot, *Les modifications phonétiques*, p. 135; Passy, *Petite phonétique comparée*, pp. 34 ff.; van Ginneken, *Principes de linguistique psychologique*, pp. 295 ff.

articulation of one language in the pronunciation of another. No specific suggestion of this sort has been generally accepted, and all of those with which I am familiar have been adequately refuted.¹⁰

More insidious is the contention of Paul Passy,¹¹ who says: "The reasons which cause the predominance of certain tendencies in a dialect are to be sought in the character, the conditions of life, the social habits, and the hereditary disposition of the community which speaks the dialect; but on this question, we can at present do no more than make vague suggestions or propose uncertain hypotheses." This point of view has been elaborated by Wundt,¹² who insists particularly upon the extreme complication of the causes involved. While some of these unknown or partly known causes may operate uniformly upon all members of the community, it is perfectly clear that many of them affect only one speaker or a few speakers; idiosyncrasies of individuals or of groups of individuals are common, whereas no man has observed a physical or mental peculiarity common to all speakers of a dialect which is not possessed also by speakers of neighboring dialects. Consequently the burden of proof rests upon those who would explain the regularity of phonetic change by the assumption of physiological and psychological factors, outside of the speech material itself (cf. above, p. 41), which operate uniformly upon a speech sound, in whatever word it occurs and whatever member of the community may be the speaker.

But even if we admit their existence, they can explain only a part of the regular phonetic changes—those, namely, which occur by a cumulation of minimal variations so slight that they are severally imperceptible. Paul¹³ himself admits that his theory does not apply to those phonetic changes which take place suddenly without a series of intermediate steps being possible, and he mentions by way of illustration metathesis, assimilation, and dis-

¹⁰ See especially Oertel, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, pp. 194 ff., and Jespersen, *Language*, pp. 255 ff.

¹¹ *Étude sur les changements phonétiques* (1890), pp. 255 f.

¹² *Völkerpsychologie*³, I, 1, pp. 382 ff.

¹³ *Principien der Sprachgeschichte*,⁴ p. 73; cf. Sievers, *Grundzüge der Phonetik*⁵, pp. 269 ff.; Brugmann, *Grundriss*², I, p. 64.

simulation. Various scholars¹⁴ have listed other changes which do not readily admit intermediate stages, such as $kw > p$, $m > n$, $ks > s$, $\beta > f$, $\delta > v$, $\chi > f$. Herzog,¹⁵ to be sure, maintains that there is no such thing as a sudden change, but that all changes of sound represent a summation of minimal variations. It is probably true that a series of intermediate stages between any two sounds can be imagined. For example, kw may conceivably change to p by way of kp , and ks to s by way of ts and ss . These elaborate conjectural schemes, however, seem unsatisfactory, and besides it is well known that sudden changes of sound do actually occur daily in the speech of every one of us. I refer to such lapses as *feak* and *weeble* for *weak* and *feeble*. Many scholars maintain that lapses cannot cause sound changes, but at any rate, they clearly show that a sudden change of sound is possible.

Furthermore, in the case of dissimilation, the assumption of gradual change will not save Herzog from the (fancied) difficulty which he is trying to avoid. For one of the two original sounds or sound groups remains unchanged and is ready to provoke a correction as soon as the change of the other has gone far enough to be perceptible. If we assume that the loss of aspiration in the first syllable of Greek $*\theta\theta\eta\mu$ was gradual, a time must nevertheless have come when the two stop sounds were perceptibly different, and thereupon we are confronted with the same situation as if we assume a sudden change. In either case it is necessary to admit that the production of a sound perceptibly different from the one intended did not provoke a correction.

But dissimilation may occur with complete regularity, as in the dissimilation of aspirates in Greek, which we have just used as an example, and in the corresponding change in Sanskrit. Paul¹⁶ notes the regularity of these two changes, and Brugmann¹⁷ is inclined to assume regularity for sudden changes in general. Paul's theory, as we have seen, does not offer an explanation of such regularity, and neither does any theory which makes regular

¹⁴ E. g., Sievers, *loc. cit.*; Porzezinski, *Einleitung in die Sprachwissenschaft*, pp. 147 f.; Jespersen, *Language*, pp. 167 f.

¹⁵ *Streitfragen der romanischen Philologie*, p. 53. Cf. Sütterlin, *Das Wesen der sprachlichen Gebilde*, pp. 35 f.

¹⁶ *Principien der Sprachgeschichte*, p. 73.

¹⁷ *Grundriss*, I, p. 69.

sound changes due to some force or forces that constantly tend to deflect the pronunciation of a community in a given direction.

These theories fail also to account for numerous other facts in phonetic history. By way of example let us examine the change of English [a] to [ɔ] after [w], as in *war*, *warm*, *water*, and *quart*.¹⁸ Shakespeare rimes *watch* with *match*, *wanting* with *granting*, *war* with *bar*, *warm* with *harm*, etc. An observer of about the middle of the eighteenth century records the rounded vowel [ɔ] in *ward*, *warm*, *want*, *wasp*, *wash*, *watch*, but the unrounded vowel [a] in *wabble*, *wad*, *wallop*, etc. Another observer toward the close of the eighteenth century records the unrounded vowel in *wash*, *water*, *wart*, *dwarf*, and another of about the same date records the unrounded vowel in *quality*. Especially noteworthy is the fact that we find *wash* with rounded vowel about the middle of the century and the same word with the original unrounded vowel toward the close of the century. We have, then, in English of the eighteenth century irregularity both between words and between speakers in regard to this change. In present day British English, on the other hand, the irregularities have nearly all been eliminated. One may still hear unrounded [a] in *qualm* and possibly in a few other words; but in general the change has now become regular. We have a phonetic law in British English that [a] after [w] has become [ɔ], except before back consonants and *f*. In American English there is still a good deal of irregularity.

It is, of course, possible that this change originated in a gradual and uniform shift in some local dialect and that the irregularity which we have observed was merely an incident of its spread to the standard language of all parts of England. Our present point is that the irregularity in standard English of the eighteenth century worked out to regularity in the nineteenth century.

The change of English [ju] to [u] after dentals has a similar but more complicated history.¹⁹ After *r* there is no longer any trace of the pronunciation [ju], except in weak syllables; but in the latter part of the eighteenth century there was much irregu-

¹⁸ This is an abridgment of the account in Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar*, I, pp. 316 f.

¹⁹ Jespersen, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 381 ff.

larity. One writer merely condemns the pronunciation [u] as indolent and vulgar, but another recognizes [u] in *cruciate*, *crucify*, *crude*, *true*, and [ju] in *crew*, *crucifix*, *cruel*, etc. Likewise after *l* preceded by another consonant the eighteenth century vacillation between [ju] and [u] has now given way to uniformity. Where *l* is not preceded by another consonant the older pronunciation is still sometimes heard. Bernard Shaw²⁰ makes a character named Lucian distinguish a fine pronunciation of his name with [ju] from the ordinary pronunciation with [u]. After *s* and *z* there is still a good deal of inconsistency. After *t*, *d*, and *n* the older pronunciation is the common one in standard British English, although even in this position the change has worked out to substantial regularity in many parts of America.

It seems obvious that such phenomena as these are connected in some way with imitation, and there are many clear cases of the spread of a new sound by imitation. Bremer²¹ describes the spread of Saxon *ō* (from M. H. G. *ou*) in Vogtland, where it is supplanting the native *ā* in such words as *Kōfman* (*Kaufmann*) and *lōfn* (*laufen*). Attic *ττ* for general Greek *σσ* (from *κj*, *χj*, *τj*, and *θj*) seems to have spread to the neighboring dialects of Euboea and Boeotia, and from Boeotia to Thessaly, long before Attic began its career as a common language for the Greek world.²²

Trautmann²³ undertook to show that the uvular *r* of French and German originated in Paris in the seventeenth century and spread from that one centre. It is far from certain that he is correct in this generalization;²⁴ but his remarks about the gradual spread of the new sound in certain rural districts of Germany are extremely valuable. In 1880 he investigated the matter in 49 villages within three hours of Leipzig. He found that all the children used uvular *r*, many people from thirty to fifty years old used both uvular and lingual *r*, while very few persons over fifty used only uvular *r*. The farther from the city he went, the more

²⁰ *Cashel Byron*, p. 37.

²¹ *Beiträge zur Geographie der deutschen Mundarten*, p. 13.

²² See Buck, *Greek Dialects*, p. 65; Brugmann-Thumb, *Griechische Grammatik*⁴, pp. 114 f.

²³ *Anglia*, 3, pp. 204 ff.

²⁴ See Jespersen, *The Articulation of Speech Sounds*, pp. 72 ff.; Delbrück, *Annalen der Naturphilosophie*, 1, pp. 302 f.

frequent lingual *r* became. While Trautmann was a student in the Gymnasium at Eisleben, the older people of the village all used lingual *r*. But his schoolmates used uvular *r*, and insisted upon it so strenuously that Trautmann often had to defend his lingual *r* with his fists.

In view of these and many similar facts, it is not strange that certain scholars have assigned imitation a prominent rôle in phonetic change. As early as 1879, Osthoff²⁵ mentioned imitation as an important factor. Five years later, Friedrich Müller²⁶ suggested the parallelism between fashion and phonetic law. But he found few followers, because phonetic change was supposed to take place without the consciousness of the speakers, while fashion was thought to spread by intentional and self-conscious imitation. Since the appearance of Tarde's great work on imitation²⁷ it is clear both that imitation may be unconscious quite as well as conscious, and that the distinction between unconscious and conscious imitation is of little importance. Building upon the foundation laid by Tarde, Oertel²⁸ made imitation solely responsible for the spread of phonetic change through the community. He thus accounted for its regularity as between speakers.

Oertel did not attempt to account for the regularity of phonetic law as between words. A change of meaning or an analogical change of sound spreads by imitation to all members of the community without affecting any word but the one in which it originates. Why, then, do certain changes of sound spread from word to word until they include every instance of the original sound or sound group under certain phonetic conditions? The answer to this question was given by Wheeler in a paper read before the American Philological Association in 1901.²⁹ When one hears an unfamiliar pronunciation of a familiar word, one gets a double sound image.

²⁵ *Das physiologische und psychologische Moment in der sprachlichen Formenbildung*, pp. 20 ff.

²⁶ *Techmer's Internationale Zeitschrift*, 1, p. 213.

²⁷ *Les lois de l'imitation*, translated by Mrs. Parsons under the title *Laws of Imitation*.

²⁸ *Lectures on the Study of Language*, pp. 134-188 and especially 269-273.

²⁹ *TAPA* 32, pp. 5 ff. Wheeler's article has been cited with approval by Thurneysen, *Die Etymologie*, pp. 17, 35; Delbrück, *Annalen der Naturphilosophie*, 1, pp. 299 f.; *Einleitung in das Studium der indogermanischen Sprachen*, p. 158; Jespersen, *Language*, p. 293.

If he comes to imitate the new sound, either from a deliberate preference or simply because man tends to harmonize with his environment, that involves choosing the new as against the old. When familiar associations suggest the old sound in certain words, one nevertheless produces the new sound which has been heard in these words. It may therefore happen that when the old sound is about to be spoken in another word the new sound will suggest itself, although it has never been heard in that word. Thus additional words tend to be affected as the change spreads from speaker to speaker, until all possible words and all the speakers of the community have gone over to the new fashion.

Wheeler worked out his theory in connection with the variation between [u] and [ju] after a dental in American English. "In my own native dialect," he says (p. 14), "I pronounced *new* as [nu].³⁰ I have found myself in later years inclined to say [nju], especially when speaking carefully and particularly in public; so also [tjuzdi]. There has developed itself in connection with these and other words a dual sound image [u] and [ju] of such validity that whenever [u] is to be formed after a dental (alveolar) explosive or nasal, the alternative [ju] is likely to present itself and create the effect of momentary uncertainty. Less frequently than in *new* and *Tuesday*, the [j] intrudes itself in *tune*, *duty*, *due*, *dew*, *tumor*, *tube*, *tutor*, etc.; but under special provocation I am liable to use it in any of these, and have even caught myself, when in a mood of utmost precision, passing beyond the bounds of imitative adoption of the new sound over into self-annexed territory, and creating [dju] (*do*) and [tju] (*two*)."

Similar cases of "over-correction" are common wherever speakers of dialect learn a standard language. Many American dialects have final unaccented [i] for standard English [ə] in such words as *America*, *Indiana*, *Nebraska*, *piano*, *sofa*; and the correction of this pronunciation leads many to say [dɔilə] for *doily*, [prærə] for *prairie*, [mizurə] for *Missouri*, [sinsinætə] for *Cincinnati*, etc. Berliners who normally use [j] for standard German [g] "will sometimes, when trying to talk correctly, say *getzt*, *gahr* for *jetzt*, *jahr*."³¹ An Alemannian child who learns

³⁰ I have substituted for Wheeler's symbols those used elsewhere in this article.

³¹ Jespersen, *Language*, p. 294.

standard German has to substitute the diphthong [ai] for dialectic [i·] in many words, and consequently most of them say [papair] for *Papier*, or the like.³² In the first century before Christ standard Latin pronunciation distinguished the aspirates of Greek loan-words from the native Latin fortes, and the effort to acquire this pronunciation led to the use of aspirates in certain Latin words, such as *pulcher*, *Cethegus*, *triumphus*. The Arrius of Catullus' famous epigram (lxxxiv) even said *chommoda*.³³ Similarly the reaction against rustic *ō* for Urban Latin *au* led Vespasian to call a certain *Florus Flaurus*, and induced the epigraphical forms *scauria* for *σκωρία* and *austia* for *ostia*.³⁴

The process is not confined to the learning of a standard language; it is likely to occur wherever a speaker imitates an unaccustomed pronunciation. Particularly instructive is the case, reported by Grammont,³⁵ of a two-year-old boy whose speech was otherwise fairly correct, but who, in conversation with his younger sister, regularly employed [j] for [r], because she made this substitution in certain words.

But, say those who will not desert the dogmas of the "young grammarians," all this material is totally irrelevant; it belongs in the chapter on dialect mixture, and has no bearing upon the change of sound in the normal development of a language.³⁶ One must admit, of course, that any such process may be called dialect mixture. Even the two-year-old who accommodated his speech to that of his younger sister may be said to have adopted her dialect with variations, and whenever a new pronunciation arises from any source or cause whatever we may say that we have a new dialect. Schuchardt,³⁷ probably the greatest of all the opponents of the "young grammarians," says, "I assume language mixture even within the most homogeneous linguistic community." Brugmann³⁸ notes that one cannot satisfactorily define the limits

³² Thurneysen, *Die Etymologie*, p. 17.

³³ Sturtevant, *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*, pp. 70 ff.

³⁴ Sturtevant, *op. cit.*, pp. 58 ff.

³⁵ *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à A. Meillet*, p. 79.

³⁶ So Leonard Bloomfield, *AJP* 43, p. 372.

³⁷ *Über die Lautgesetze*, p. 16.

³⁸ *Grundriss*², I, pp. 70 f.; Brugmann-Thumb, *Griechische Grammatik*⁴, p. 10; cf. Wechssler, *Giebt es Lautgesetze? Festgabe für Suchier*, pp. 520 ff.

of a dialect, and that the influence of one individual's speech upon another's is not essentially different from the influence of the speech of one group upon that of another.

Even if we had to assume contact of two fairly distinct dialects in order to explain regular sound change, that would cause no difficulty. In every community there are two or more class dialects, and, even in so uniform a linguistic area as the United States, one need not travel far to detect some differences of pronunciation. In earlier times dialectic divergence was undoubtedly greater and the dialectic units much smaller than at present.³⁹ Not only does the intensified intercourse of modern times make possible the spread of common languages over enormous regions, but it also tends to check the splitting of local dialects. Formerly dialect mixture was therefore even more common than it is today.

Dialect mixture, however, is not the only possible source of the double auditory image which leads to the spread of a change from word to word. In Southern England and in New England final *r* is lost before an initial consonant but retained before an initial vowel of the next word,⁴⁰ so that many words have two forms, as *here below* [hiə bilou]—*here and there* [hiər ən ðæ], *dear Paul* [diə pɔl]—*dear Ann* [diər æn], *better paid* [betə peid]—*better off* [betər ɒf], *more meat* [mɔ mit]—*more of that* [mɔr əv ðæt], *far west* [fa west]—*far away* [far əwei]. The double image thus acquired often induces an unetymological *r* after final vowels when the next word begins with a vowel, as in *idear of*, *lawr of*, etc. The process can be stated in the form of a problem in proportion, just as though it were due to analogy; [hiə] + consonant : [hiər] + vowel = [aidiə] + consonant : [aidiər] + vowel. The difference from ordinary analogy is that the meaning of the words does not come into play. We have here a case of purely formal analogy.⁴¹

As a new pronunciation spreads from word to word there may come a time when the old pronunciation is too rare to give adequate practice in forming the sound group concerned, and so a

³⁹ The contrary has sometimes been assumed. See *e. g.*, Bloomfield, *AJP* 5, p. 182, and cf. Wheeler, *TAPA* 32, pp. 11 ff.

⁴⁰ Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar*, I, pp. 370 ff.

⁴¹ Cf. Schuchardt, *Über die Lautgesetze*, pp. 7 f.

generation grows up which finds that sound group difficult.⁴² Thereupon the new sound is substituted for the old in all its occurrences, just as one who learns a foreign language substitutes his familiar articulations for those of the foreign language. The sound group [rju] under the accent was formerly common in English, but it is no longer habitual and we can produce it only with some difficulty. It is scarcely conceivable that the group should be discovered in any word in present day English, unless in some local dialect which may have retained it in a number of words.

We cannot maintain, however, that the spread of a sound from word to word must always reach this goal. In the conflict between the new pronunciation and the old, the old may finally prevail,⁴³ so that the net result of the process is to leave things as they were. An excellent example of this is furnished by the history of aspirates in Latin, to which we alluded above (p. 48). After aspiration had become so common that even Cicero felt compelled to say *pulcher*, *Cethegus*, *triumphus*, and *Carthago*, the tendency shortly set in the other direction. Quintilian implies that the pronunciation was less common in his day than it had been, and Aulus Gellius cites several words with aspirates from the "ancients." The Romance languages show no traces of the phenomenon. In this case, then, no less than when a new articulation drives out an old, the disfavored pronunciation was banished from the language, and there was no chance for an exception to the law.

In French of the sixteenth century there was an extensive confusion between *r* and *z* (i. e., *s* between vowels).⁴⁴ Our authorities preserve more examples of the change from *r* to *z* than of *z* to *r*; but they give also several instances of the reactionary (corrective) change. Thus *père* and *mère* became *pese* and *mese*, but *cousin* became *courin*. The temporary confusion was ended by the re-establishment of the original distinction, but one word at least has survived in both forms; *chaise* beside *chaire* owes its *z* to the sixteenth century confusion. Similarly the confusion of *v* and *w*

⁴² On the importance of habit in the production of speech sounds, see Oertel, *Lectures on the Study of Language*, pp. 218 ff.

⁴³ So Sievers, *Grundzüge der Phonetik*³, p. 268.

⁴⁴ See Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la langue Française*², I, pp. 346 ff. and references.

in Cockney English of the early nineteenth century⁴⁵ has been ended and both consonants are used by Cockneys as by other English speakers. It would have been possible for one or more words permanently to get a new form in the course of such development, but none has been observed.

There are, then, two ways in which phonetic change is known to become regular. (1) When a speaker is familiar with two different pronunciations of a word or a group of words he is likely to extend the variation to other words in which he has never heard it; that is, he will substitute pronunciation B for pronunciation A in words in which only pronunciation A has hitherto been heard, or else he will extend pronunciation A in a similar way. Such variation continues until either the new pronunciation or the old has become nearly or quite universal—quite universal if the disfavored sound or sound group becomes unusual. Such a double sound image is most frequently acquired by dialect mixture, but it may result from the imitation of any individual peculiarity of pronunciation, and in some cases it may come from sentence doublets.

(2) A strong stress accent, rapid or energetic articulation, and some other general features of pronunciation tend to produce certain gradual changes in all members of a linguistic community. No doubt some speakers yield to such tendencies more readily than others, but constant intercourse tends to hold all speakers of a dialect together. We may assume that under an impulse of this sort an entire community may undergo a change simultaneously, but there is no reason for supposing that it is a common occurrence. Furthermore, the underlying cause, *i. e.*, the accent or the mode of articulation, must have originated in a regular change of sound, and, as far as we know, there was no way in which this could spread from speaker to speaker and from word to word, except by imitation in the manner sketched above.

If we are right in our explanation of the regularity of sound change, it is necessary to modify certain statements about phonetic law which have been often repeated. In the first place, it is not true that phonetic changes must take place without the knowledge of the speakers. It is perfectly clear that while they were going on

⁴⁵ Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar*, I, pp. 385 f.

some of the changes described above were known to some at least of the speakers concerned. We have actual records from English writers of the eighteenth century of the variation between [wa] and [wɔ], and of the variation between [ju] and [u] in classes of words in which the change is now complete and regular. The whole process is a matter of imitation, and, as with imitation itself, the self-consciousness of the subject, while quite possible, is altogether irrelevant. It does not follow that we must return to the teleological conceptions of the early comparative philologists. It is still true that no new pronunciation is purposely originated; we are here discussing only the spread of speech sounds, or secondary change, as Oertel has well named it.

In the second place, it is quite possible for the requirement of intelligibility to hinder the spread of a new articulation.⁴⁶ This does not mean that a speaker says to himself: "I will not pronounce thus and so, because I may not be understood." He will at first use the new pronunciation as well where it causes the loss of a useful linguistic distinction as elsewhere; but when he is not understood and is asked to repeat his sentence, he will substitute the alternative pronunciation. Whenever in the rough and ready experimentation that all speaking involves one of two alternative pronunciations proves to carry the meaning and the other not, there can be no question which will finally be preferred.

This change of theory does not imply any great deviation from the present practice of all historical grammarians. It is customary to say that the σ of Greek $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\sigma\alpha$, etc., was restored by the analogy of $\epsilon\delta\alpha\iota\varsigma\alpha$, $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\mu\upsilon\varsigma\alpha$, etc., where σ was regularly preserved. It is more likely that the σ of $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\sigma\alpha$ was preserved from change by the analogy of aorists from consonant stems and by the need of σ to make the forms readily intelligible. Quite possibly the need to be understood has in some cases operated without the assistance of analogy, but I do not know of such a case.

In the third place, exceptions to phonetic laws are possible. If a phonetic change virtually banishes a sound or a sound group from a dialect, it cannot survive in a few words; such a phonetic law

⁴⁶ So Jespersen, *Techmer's Internationale Zeitschrift*, 3, pp. 203 f., *Language*, p. 287; Sechehayé, *Programme et methodes de la linguistique théorique*, pp. 175 ff. Cf. Sapir, *Language*, pp. 196 ff.

may not have exceptions. But an abortive phonetic change may leave some traces in the shape of words which show an irregular (sporadic!) change. Jespersen⁴⁷ lists several fairly clear exceptions to phonetic law, and they must apparently be explained in some such way as we employed above for French *chaise*.

There is, however, perfectly sound reason why we must retain the strict method which was brought to its full development by the "young grammarians." Except where the linguistic record is particularly full, as it is for the more important European languages in recent centuries, it is impossible to trace any but the regular phonetic developments. Undoubtedly there have always been exceptional changes alongside of these; but we cannot detect them with the means now available. Consequently no etymology can be considered plausible if it involves an exception to a phonetic law, unless the word in question can be traced back by a practically complete record to a point before the irregularity arose. Thus we can trace French *chaise* back to the time of its derivation from *chaire*, and Modern High German *Neffe* with short vowel to a period prior to the lengthening of short accented vowels which were not followed by two or more consonants.

The foregoing remarks have been restricted to the share which imitation has in making phonetic change regular. It has not seemed necessary to examine Sapir's⁴⁸ theory of "drift," or Jespersen's⁴⁹ revival of the old doctrine that phonetic change is largely due to the universal human tendency to avoid effort. Both of these theories are attractive and they are entirely in harmony with the views here set forth; but it seemed simpler not to bring them into the discussion.

⁴⁷ *Language*, p. 295.

⁴⁸ *Language*, pp. 157 ff.

⁴⁹ *Language*, pp. 261 ff.

TAK-KU A FEMALE DEITY

EDWARD CHIERA

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE ISSUE of the *AJSL* for April 1923 appeared a critical note by Langdon entitled "Tag-tug a Male Deity." The article opens in this way: "An effort has been made in certain articles to prove, on the basis of a late Assur Syllabary, that the ancient deified king Tag-tug or Utu was a female."

I had published in the *AJSL* for October 1922 an article entitled: "A Sumerian Tablet Relating to the Fall of Man," in which I referred to the Assur syllabary and also denied the possibility of any connection between ^dTAK-KU and ^dZiu-suddu. Since this last affirmation appears to have been objectionable to Langdon, I have good reason to believe that his note is especially aimed at me. In any case, I am of the opinion that ^dTAK-KU was a woman and that ^dZiu-suddu had no closer relationship to her than that which we all have with our mother Eve.

In my article in the *AJSL* I had not embarked upon a discussion of this subject because I fully believed that, in the face of later evidence, Langdon would abandon his earlier stand. In the present state of Sumerian knowledge, I do not think it is fair to reproach a writer for views he may have expressed years before, especially when new documents have appeared which have given additional help toward the right interpretation. In order that we may not ignore all later evidence, let us review all the facts in the case.

Attention was first called to ^dTAK-KU when this personage was found mentioned in a legendary tablet which Langdon misnamed "The Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood and Fall of Man." As we all know, one of the characteristics of the Sumerian language is that it generally fails to differentiate between masculine and feminine genders. I am therefore greatly surprised when I find Langdon asserting that "in the Epic of Paradise ^dTag-tug is invariably referred to as a man. We find him addressed as *nu-giš-sar* or *nukaribu* 'gardener.' The scribe would have indicated the gender if he meant 'female gardener.'"

Now, in the case of a well-known personage like 'TAK-KU, this is just what the scribe would not have done. Langdon has read too much Sumerian not to know this, and I think that, on second thought, he will be very glad to take back his statement. But still more shaky is his second assertion that in the Epic 'TAK-KU is referred to as "this pious son of man." The line which he quotes is badly destroyed and his translation, which is more than doubtful, rests entirely on his own interpretation of the tablet. But even granting, for the sake of argument, both translation and reference, this would not help him at all in proving his point.

There is in the "Epic" only one expression which might give us a clue toward determining whether 'TAK-KU was a man or a woman, and that is the appellative *sal-ni-dim*, was sometimes follows the name of this personage. I believe that *sal* has to be translated "the woman." But, be that as it may, I am quite safe in asserting that the Epic leaves this question absolutely unsettled.

Things were at this point when Schroeder published two syllabaries from Assur (*Keilschrifttexte verschiedenen Inhalts*, III, 63. 65) which give the equation 'TAK-KU = *mârat 'anim*, i. e. "'TAK-KU = the daughter of the god Anu." What marvel that scholars have accepted this statement as the first and only evidence on this obscure point? But Langdon brushes this aside without hesitation. He tells us that "the evidence of this syllabary obviously rests upon a false copy of the Assur scribe. In the Weld-Blundell Collection of the Ashmolean Museum there is an earlier copy of the syllabary in question which has 'nin-tag-tug = *mârat Anim*."

But is Langdon certain that the statements of the Assur syllabaries "obviously" rest upon a scribal error? As a general rule, I do not like to charge the poor scribes with too many sins. I always start with the assumption that an error is more likely to be found in the interpretation than in the text. Have we here a textual error or an error of judgment?

If we had two absolutely identical lists of names and in one of them we found 'TAK-KU while the other had 'NIN-TAK-KU, all the rest of the lists being alike, the first and most natural inference would be that we are confronted by two variant spellings of the same name. I have prepared for publication hundreds of such lists and have always classed such differences in writing as

variants, without accusing either scribe of error. In fact, such variants are always welcome for the help they generally give in the interpretation of the words in question.

All other things being equal, the difference in the syllabaries would simply prove that **TAK-KU* and **NIN-TAK-KU* are one and the same person. But the first natural inference is greatly corroborated by the fact that both **TAK-KU* and **NIN-TAK-KU* are followed by the same appellative "daughter of Anu." If they were husband and wife, as Langdon wants to make them, how could both of them be "daughters" of the same god?

Langdon accuses the Assur syllabaries of error, but does not point out where the error is. It cannot certainly be in the explanatory column which reads "daughter of Anu," because that is the same in all syllabaries. The error must therefore be in the omission of the *NIN*, so that the Assur text should have read, like the Weld-Blundell syllabary, **NIN-TAK-KU = mârât *anim*.

If this be so, why reproach scholars for not having recognized the fact that the Assur texts contained an error? No one knew of the existence of this **NIN-TAK-KU* before, while **TAK-KU* was already known. How could one change the known into the unknown form? But there is more. In my article in the *AJSL* I had called attention to an unpublished list of gods (CBS 11889) belonging to the Nippur collection and there **TAK-KU* is found, but not followed by his supposed wife. The list is certainly old, dating about 2200 B. C. Does Langdon want to change that also to **NIN-TAK-KU*, and thus exclude **TAK-KU* from all syllabaries, substituting for his name that of his supposed wife?

But all this he ignores, because he would establish a status for his newly-discovered goddess: "The new syllabaries prove that **Tag-tug* was associated with a woman, at any rate by the theologians, and when they devised a wife for him her name was naturally **Nin-tag-tug*, or Belit Tagtug, 'the mistress Tag-tug.'" This statement would have been perfectly justified if his new syllabary read:

**TAK-KU*

**NIN-TAK-KU DAM-BI-SAL = mârât *anim.*

Unfortunately for his argument the new syllabary has only **NIN-TAK-KU = mârât anim*, and this is too small a foundation for all his inferences.

The name 'NIN-TAK-KU does not appear to be the original name of the wife of 'TAK-KU, still granting, for the sake of argument, 'TAK-KU to be a man. Langdon himself felt the objection when he qualified his statement by saying that this wife had been devised for him by the theologians. If, as the name suggests, 'NIN-TAK-KU had such little individuality of her own as to be simply called by the name of her supposed husband, then we should expect his name to precede her own in all syllabaries.

Moreover, if she was really so unimportant, why call her the daughter of the god Anu, the greatest of the gods? And what greater honor could the "husband" possess? And why relegate 'TAK-KU to the condition of "prince consort" when it is he alone, and not his wife, that is met with in old legends? And if, as Langdon admits, this wife has probably been devised for him by the late theologians, to which of the two originally belonged the appellation "daughter of Anu"? Certainly not to the wife, who had not yet been devised.

It is of course possible to credit the theologians also with the invention of the relationship to Anu of this newly-invented 'NIN-TAK-KU. Kings and heroes have been deified quite often, and have become members of the regular pantheon. But these personages had really existed, at least in legend, and had done something worthy of recognition. But what would be the purpose in deifying a newly invented goddess?

It would, on the other hand, be perfectly logical to suppose that the theologians wanted to claim a divine origin for 'TAK-KU and that originally he was not considered to have been in any special relationship with Anu. And, after all, is Langdon certain that 'NIN-TAK-KU must be the wife of 'TAK-KU? Is 'NIN-IB the wife of 'IB? If the name of a god begins with the element NIN all we can deduce from the fact is that the name is probably feminine, or was originally feminine.

All things considered, I do not think there is any error in either one of the two syllabaries in question, and I note with satisfaction the new variant 'NIN-TAK-KU = 'TAK-KU. I find here additional proof, if any were needed, that I was right in claiming 'TAK-KU to be a female deity.

After all this, the identification of 'TAK-KU with 'Ziu-suddu,

the hero of the Sumerian deluge story, naturally falls of itself. We cannot identify a woman with a man. But let us see if this identification would have any possibility of standing, irrespective of any question of difference in sex.

As I had occasion to point out, ⁴TAK-KU was first known in the so-called Epic of Paradise. It is manifestly impossible to discuss here in detail Langdon's interpretation of the tablet as against those of practically all other scholars. I may simply note that a worse misnomer for the tablet could not have been found. Langdon calls it: "The Epic of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man." Let us begin with the article. How does Langdon know that this is the only epic treating of these subjects? At least the ⁴Ziu-suddu legend was already well known, and indications of the existence of the Paradise and Fall stories were not lacking. Can we speak now of "the" Sumerian creation story? Secondly, the tablet contains nothing of epic character: it is pure legend. And as for the three chief points of interest, the Paradise, Deluge and Fall of Man, we may discuss them summarily.

If we mean by Paradise a place where humanity enjoyed perfect bliss, as in the traditional view of the Garden of Eden before the Fall, then I am certain that in Langdon's tablet we have no description of Paradise. Moreover, as far as we know, the Babylonians did not believe in a Paradise of that kind, but thought that humanity had started in a savage condition. And we can go a step further and say that such an idea of Paradise did not even exist among the Hebrews, because the biblical account, when examined carefully, differs greatly from its original interpretation (cf. my article in the *Outlook* for Jan. 3, 1923).

I have granted to Langdon that in his tablet there is a reference to the Fall; but this is only a question of personal interpretation, because the tablet is broken at that very interesting point. But, in order to find in the tablet a reference to the deluge, Langdon has to force the meaning of very clear and well preserved passages. Jastrow was the first to point out that the period of nine months, instead of referring to the duration of the deluge, clearly points to the period of pregnancy in woman, and that the whole "deluge" episode resolves itself into a fertilization myth by the marriage of two gods (cp. 'Sumerian Views of Beginnings,' in *AJSL*, Jan. 1917).

Once the existence of a Deluge episode in Langdon's tablet is denied, the last line of defense for the proposed identification naturally goes. The first had been abandoned long ago. In the form *tag-tug* Langdon wanted to find a reduplication of the sign *tug*, which means *nāhu* "to pacify." The name Noah comes from the same root, hence the two names are identical. So many have been the objections to this argument that Langdon has wisely withdrawn it. Why not then take back also the strange statement that Noah was the protagonist of the fall? If mankind had not yet, in the days of Noah, eaten of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, then the very motive for sending a deluge would have been wanting.

But Langdon ignored another bit of evidence which would have been decisive, had he given it due consideration. If ^aTAK-KU is the hero of the deluge, he cannot also be the protagonist of the Fall, granting this to have occurred at the very beginning of human history. That would give us the deluge immediately after the Fall, that is at a time when there was no sinful mankind to be destroyed, except the first progenitors who are supposed to have escaped in a boat.

And we have actual proof that ^aTAK-KU was the first reasoning human being, mentioned at the very beginning of human history. In a legendary tablet published by Prof. Barton (*Babylonian Inscriptions*, No. 11) we have again a description of conditions as they existed at the very beginning. Here, however, the language is less poetical and much plainer, so that there is no doubt that, when ^aTAK-KU enters upon the scene, there existed no domesticated animals and no cultivated plants. Human beings appear to have roamed about with the animals in a savage condition, and it is to ^aTAK-KU that credit is given for beginning the work of civilization. I have been fortunate in finding several other tablets which complete and continue that very interesting story, but what Prof. Barton had published should have been sufficient to prove to Langdon that ^aTAK-KU had nothing to do with ^aZiu-suddu.

Summing up the argument I maintain that ^aTAK-KU is a female deity because: (1) Two Assyrian syllabaries clearly state that she is the daughter of the god Anu. (2) The Weld-Blundell

Syllabary gives us a secondary form of her name composed with the element *NIN*.

I also deny any connection between *ʾTAK-KU* and *ʾZiu-suddu*, the hero of the Deluge, for the following reasons: (1) There is no mention of the Deluge in Langdon's tablet, and therefore there is no basis for the identification. (2) It is illogical to place the Fall and the Deluge episodes at the same period of time. (3) *ʾTAK-KU* is a woman and *ʾZiu-suddu* a man.

To make his work complete, Langdon in his note identifies *ʾNIN-TAK-KU*, the supposed wife of *ʾTAK-KU*, with the wife of *ʾZiu-suddu*. This can be disposed of very briefly, because all the arguments which have been brought against the first identification are valid against the second. Add to this that *ʾNIN-TAK-KU*, being a creation of the late theologians, cannot have been the wife of an historical personage, and that we happen to know precisely nothing about this Mrs. *ʾZiu-suddu*. What good would it do to identify anyone with her?

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF MANICHAISM

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

1. Rāmṛātūkh as a Designation of the Mother of Life.

IN MANICHAISM we are familiar with the figure of the great mother-goddess, the Mother of Life (or, more exactly, Mother of the Living), who is found likewise in the earlier Gnostic systems.¹ The triune relationship of a Father God, Mother Goddess, and Son is recognizable, and is familiar elsewhere.² In the Greek and Latin writings dealing with the Religion of Mānī and in the Gnostics the mother is spoken of as ἡ Μήτηρ τῆς Ζωῆς, *Mater Vitae* (or as ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν Ζώντων, *Mater Viventium*).³ In the Syriac scholia by Theodore bar Khoni, when treating of Manichaeism, she is also alluded to several times as the 'Mother of Life' (or 'Mother of the Living'), *Emmā dē Hayyē*⁴; and in the Arabic chapter on Mānī's teaching in an-Nadīm's *Fihrist* she is called both the 'Mother of Life' (*Umm-al-Hayāh*) and 'Mother of the Living' (*Umm-al-Aḥyā*).⁵

When the remains of actual Manichaean documents were discovered, a score or more years ago in the Oasis of Turfan, Eastern Turkistan, it was interesting to find among these Fragments in several languages allusions to this divine mother. Thus, in the Fragments which are written in the Middle Persian form that is

¹ Regarding the latter point consult Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 1-83; idem, art. 'Gnosticism,' in *Encycl. Brit.* 12. 155-156; and also art. 'Great Mother of the Gods' (by G. Showerman, *Encycl. Brit.* 12. 401-403).

² Cf. Cumont, *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, 1. 15, n. 1.

³ See Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, 7. 3 (ed. Beeson, p. 10); Epiphanius, *De Haeresibus*, 26, ch. 10, in Migne, *Patrolog. Graec.* vol. 41, col. 348; Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses*, 1. 30. 2 (ref. to *Mater Viventium* in connection with the Ophites), in Migne, *Patrolog. Graec.* vol. 7, col. 695; consult Beausobre, *Histoire de Manichéisme*, 2. 313, n. 7; Cumont, *Recherches*, 1. 14-15; Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, 2. 293, n. 1.

⁴ See Pognon, *Inscriptions Mandaïtes*, p. 127, 128, 129 (text), p. 185, 188, 189 (transl.); cf. Cumont, p. 14, 25, 33.

⁵ See Flügel, *Mani*, p. 59, line 1 and p. 70, line 8 (text), cf. p. 91, 100 (transl.).

commonly known as Turfan Pahlavi, her name appears as *Mādar* 'i *Zīndagān* or *Zīndagān Mādar*, lit. 'Mother of the Living.'⁶ Similarly, in the old Turkish Manichaean Fragments from Khocho she is termed the 'Mother Goddess,' *Ög T(ā)ngri*.⁷ Furthermore, in the Chinese Manichaean Treatise found in the Grottoes of Tun-Huang, she is called the 'Excellent Mother,' *Shan-mū* (or *Chan-mou*, according to the French transliteration).⁸

⁶ See F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-reste in Estrangelo-schrift aus Turfan, Zweiter Teil* (Abh. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. Berlin, 1904) for the following references. Fragments, M. 300, line 3 (= Müller, 2. p. 47) *Mādar* 'i *Zīndagān*; M. 4 d, line 8 (= Mü. 2. p. 55) *Zīndagān Mādar*; likewise M. 12 c = M. 172, l. 13 (= Mü. 2. p. 25 = p. 101, 102) simply *Mādar*.

⁷ See A. von Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, I, III (AKPAk. Berlin, 1912, 1922) for the following references. Frag. T. II, D. 173 b. recto line 17, and verso l. 1 (= Le Coq, 1. p. 13, 14) *Ög T(ā)ngri*; also T. M. 291 recto(?) line 11 (= Le Coq, 3. p. 7) *Ög T(ā)ngri*. Refer also to the discussion below (No. 2, Addendum) regarding *Ögütmiş Ög* in T. II. D. 176 recto line 14 (= Le Coq, 3. p. 15).

⁸ See Chavannes and Pelliot, *Un Traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine*, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1911, p. 511, with note 1, and p. 515, 525. Being interested in understanding the force and meaning of the first word (*Shan*) I have asked for information from my kind Sinologist friends. Professor Pelliot personally tells me that there is no doubt that *shan* ('*chan*') is an attribute of the Mother, and he translates by 'la Mère excellente.' I have furthermore had the advantage of conferring with my Chinese pupil, Mr. Ti-Shan Hsü, regarding the pregnant signification of this adjective. Mr. Hsü informs me that the meaning of *shan* was 'auspicious,' and he adds that in the first Chinese dictionary (Shoh-wen), written early in the Han Dynasty, the word is given with the explanation 'auspicious' (see Shoh-wen Ch'ai Tze, vol. 2, p. 13 b, Shanghai, 1923, Chung Hwa Book Company). He furthermore tells me that in the *Great Dictionary of the Chinese public*, Shanghai, 1915, under the division "k'ou" ('mouth') there are numerous meanings recorded as appearing in the Classics. The commonest ones (listed with their sources) are the following: '(1) Happy, (2) Excellent, (3) Good, (4) Virtuous, (5) Peaceful, (6) Merciful, (7) Great, (9) Pleasing, (14) Friendly.' Mr. Thomas F. Carter, my colleague and former student, similarly says that the idea conveyed by the adjective is approximately: 'good, kind, loving, righteous,' like the Greek *ἀγαθός* in its various shadings of meaning. Our Columbia professor in Chinese, Professor Lucius C. Porter, has likewise drawn my attention to the idea of 'good' (as opposed to evil) as a fundamental definition of *shan* in one of the native dictionaries, the association of the ideas of 'auspicious' and 'good' being a natural one. He has likewise referred me to Williams, *Chinese English Dictionary*, p. 752, where, among the primary significa-

Now in one of the Turfan Middle Persian Fragments (M. 172 recto l. 13-18), which is written both in Turfan Pahlavi and in a Pahlavi 'dialect'-gloss that accompanies the former, we have a special name added in the 'dialect'-gloss as a further designation of the Mother Goddess; it is *Rāmrātūkh*.⁹ The content of the passage itself may briefly be summarized thus: it gives an ascription of praise to several of the divine beings, adding their titles in the gloss. Among those mentioned in succession are the 'Father' (whose name is dialectically glossed as 'God Zarvān, *Zarvāḅayīy*'), the 'Mother' (glossed as *Rāmrātūkhḅayīy*), and the 'Son' (originally Primal Man, who is glossed as Jesus, *Yēšuvīy*).¹⁰ The precise meaning of the name *Rāmrātūkh* (the appended word *ḅayīy* being 'Goddess'), as applied to the Mother of Life in this gloss, has long been a problem. A suggestion is here put forward, which may possibly help towards the solution of the crux.

The Middle Persian word *Rāmrātūkh* is to be divided, I believe, as *Rām-rātūkh* (*Rām-rātūx*). The first element is manifestly the familiar Pahlavi *rām*, NP. *rām*, 'joy, gladness, happiness,' which is well known in derivatives, like Phl. *rāmišn*, and found equally in Avestan as *rāman-*, 'rest, joy,' from the root *ram-*, 'to rest, repose.'¹¹ The second element (*rātūkh*) appears to be a 'dialectic' abstract, formed from the noun and adjective Phl. *rāt* (*rād*), 'giver, liberal, generous,' which abstract itself appears in ordinary Pahlavi as *rātīh* (*rādīh*), 'generosity, liberality, bounteousness, benevolence.'¹² The formative ending *-ūkh* is doubtless a 'dialectic' variation of the ordinary *-īh*, which is common enough as an abstract termination in the Pahlavi Books, and is

tions, are set down 'good from principle, virtuous, meek, docile, skilful.' This information at best helps to make non-Sinologists acquainted with the gamut run by the word under consideration.

⁹ See Müller, *op. cit.* p. 101, 102.

¹⁰ The role of the celestial Jesus as a fulfilment of that of Primal Man is recognized elsewhere in Manichaeism. It is implied, for example, in Theodore bar Khoni, tr. Pognon, p. 191-193; also in an-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, tr. Flügel, *Mani*, p. 91; and consult especially Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, p. 154; idem, *Das mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse*, p. 90.

¹¹ Consult Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 1511, 1524.

¹² See West and Haug, *Glossary of the Arda Viraf*, p. 130; and cf. S. D. Bharucha, *Pahlavi-Pāzend-English Glossary*, p. 258, Bombay, 1912.

there sometimes written as a graph (—). The meaning of this compounded name Rāmratūkh would therefore be literally 'Joy-givingness,' 'Liberality of Joy,' and *Rāmratūkh Bayī* would be the 'Goddess of the Bounteousness of Joy'—a title well suited to the Mother of Life, whose true office is to dispense happiness.

Additional support for the proposed etymology of this epithet Rāmratūkh, applied to the Mother as the one who imparts joy, is afforded by two passages in the Fihrist, to which I would call attention in this connection.

The first of these is found in the section of the Fihrist edited by Flügel, *Mani*, p. 55, l. 3, in which she is personified under the name of 'Joyousness' (Arabic *Bahjah*), which he renders as 'Fröhlichkeit' (*op. cit.* p. 88, l. 10).¹³ Although Flügel was doubtful in his notes (p. 208 n. 110) as to what identification to suggest for 'Fröhlichkeit,' he had an inkling that the name might possibly be used to designate the 'Mutter des Lebens.' The times have since given proof that this surmise was correct. The context of the passage itself showed that the personage personified as 'Joyousness' was directly associated with the Living Spirit in rescuing Primal Man after he had been overcome by the Powers of Darkness. We now know from the Syriac Scholia of Theodore bar Khoni and from the Manichaean documents later available in the older Turkish and Chinese, that it actually was the Mother Goddess who was thus united with the Living Spirit in Primal Man's deliverance.¹⁴ Consequently there can remain no doubt that 'Joyousness' ('Fröhlichkeit') in this particular passage of the Fihrist is, like Rāmratūkh, a designation for the joyous Mother of Life.

The second passage in the same Arabic work is one for which a new interpretation can be offered in the light already thrown upon the subject. This passage (Flügel, *Mani*, text p. 54, l. 5, transl. p. 87, l. 19) relates to an earlier stage in the conflict between

¹³ Regarding this well-known word *bahjah*, consult Freytag, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, I. p. 64, and cf. also Steingass, *Pers. Eng. Dict.* p. 210, s. v. *bahjah* (Arabic), 'gladness, cheerfulness, joyfulness.' No departure from the text of our passage is made in the large edition of the Fihrist by Flügel-Roediger-Müller, p. 329, l. 29; Leipzig. 1871.

¹⁴ See Theodore bar Khoni, tr. Pognon, p. 188; Turkish Frag. T. II, D. 173 b, recto ll. 16-20, verso ll. 1-4 (Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* I, p. 13-14, cf. p. 40-41); furthermore, the Chinese Treatise tr. Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911, p. 510-514. Cf. also Alfarié, *Les Écritures manichéennes*, 2. 215, n. 2.

Light and Darkness, namely, that moment when the King of Light, as God, evolves a plan for bringing Primal Man into being. This he does, in combination with other spiritual aids, by evoking or creating Primal Man through the agency of a power that is ordinarily translated as the 'Geist seiner Rechten'—so Flügel, reading the Arabic adjective as *yamnah*.¹⁵ But instead of so reading the Arabic word I should prefer to point it as *yumnah*, 'happiness, felicity';¹⁶ and should accordingly suggest that the sentence means: 'He (i. e. the Godhead) begat by His Spirit of Happiness.' This would be simply another way of expressing the attribute 'Joyousness,' as applied above to the Mother of the Living, whom scholars believe to be intended here.¹⁷ The idea for such an interpretation I owe to my former pupil Mr. Anis E. Khuri, now Professor in the American University of Beirut, Syria, who, without having any previous acquaintance with Manichaeism, translated the Arabic phrase at once as 'by his spirit of bliss.' Quite independently my Assistant, Dr. Yohannan, likewise rendered it offhand as 'blessed (or beatific) spirit.' So much from authorities outside. As a result, the suggestion tentatively presented regarding the interpretation of this second passage seems worth taking into consideration.

¹⁵ See Flügel, p. 87 and p. 199, n. 1; he is followed by Kessler, *Mani*, p. 389, and by scholars in general.

¹⁶ For Arabic *yumnah* see Freytag, *Lex. Arabico-Latinum*, 4, p. 524, 'felicitas, prosperitas'; cf. Steingass, *Pers. Eng. Dict.* p. 1586, 'happiness, prosperity.'

¹⁷ See Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, p. 177, 178; Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, 2. 293, n. 1, 'Spirit of the Right [Hand],' where an Egyptian idea is suggested. Flügel, *Mani*, p. 199, n. 90, himself acknowledges that this 'Geist der Rechten' is not mentioned elsewhere (nirgends genannt) in the Fihrist and that we look for it later in vain (später vergebens). In putting forward the proposed interpretation as 'Spirit of Happiness,' I have by no means neglected carefully to consider TPhl. *dašnēzādag'ān*, 'sons of the right' in M. 4 f., line 14 (= Mū. 2. p. 58, duly consulting Müller's references; cf. also p. 57 *dašn*); nor, may be added, have I forgotten such passages as Acta Archelai, ch. 7, § 4-5 (ed. Beeson, p. 10-11) regarding the Manichaeans giving the right hand in greeting, and also the phrase of St. Augustine, *Epist. Fund.*, ch. 11, § 13, 'may the right hand of light protect you.' Due attention has been given likewise to some general allusions to 'the right' in Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, p. 346; Legge, *Rivals and Forerunners*, 2. 164. Such references are included here to show that they have not been overlooked.

In view of all that has been brought forward there appear to be good grounds for accepting the proposed etymology of the name of the goddess Rāmṛātūkh as meaning the very 'Liberality of Gladness,' or 'Bounteousness of Joy,' when applied to the Mother in the 'dialectic' Turfan Fragment. Mānī's poetic imagination had a fancy for such highly-colored titles; witness his Adamas Hero, King of Honor, Splenditenens (Φεγγοκάτοχος), Maiden of Light, and the rest.

2. The Problematic '*Nahnaha*' as applied to the Mother of the Living in the Fihrist.

The Arabic account of the return of the pure soul of the Manichaean Elect, by several stages, to the supernal realm of Light, as given by an-Nadīm in the Fihrist, describes the Elect as first 'ascending by the Column of Praise (Milky Way) to the sphere of the Moon, and to the Primal Man (i. e. who is in the Sun), and to the —?— Mother of the Living, to where first he was in the Paradises of Light.'¹⁸

The word here marked as '—?—,' which precedes the Mother of Life, is a designation of some sort, whether nominal or adjectival. Flügel, in his translation (*Mani*, p. 100), renders it as a proper name—'zu der Nahnaha der Mutter der Lebendigen.' In commenting upon this passage, Flügel (p. 343) simply says: 'Nahnaha, ein Wort, das in seiner einfachen Uebersetzung die Abwendung des Bösen bedeutet.' So great is Flügel's authority that he has been generally followed by other writers in regarding the word as a proper name.¹⁹ The only hint of hesitation expressed on the subject, so far as I have found, is an incidental intimation by Chavannes and Pelliot when touching, in a footnote, upon the designation of the Mother in the Chinese Manichaean Treatise.²⁰ They mention this Fihrist passage with a slight qualification as to 'le nom de Nahnaha, que Flügel traduit hypothétiquement par "Abwendung der Bösen."' That is all they remark.

¹⁸ See Flügel, *Mani*, text p. 70 ll. 6-8, transl. p. 100 ll. 27-30; and large edition of the Fihrist by Flügel-Roediger-Müller, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, 1, p. 335 l. 15; cf. notes in vol. 2, p. 172.

¹⁹ Thus also 'Nahnaha' in the translation of this passage by Kessler, *Mani*, p. 399; similarly other later writers.

²⁰ Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA*. 1911, p. 511, n. 1, end.

As a student of Manichaeism, though not an Arabist, I have long felt uncertain as to whether, if really a proper name, such a designation as the 'Averting (of Evil)' was an appropriate one for the character of the Mother Goddess in the Religion of Mānī, or whether some other reading of the Arabic letters than Nahnahah might not be possible. Accordingly I had recourse to my friend and colleague Professor Richard Gottheil for help in the matter.

He carefully examined with me the variants in the three manuscripts noted in Flügel, p. 70, n. 9, finding no additional ones recorded in the large edition of the Fihrist by Flügel-Roediger-Müller, 1, p. 335 and 2, p. 172. It became clear that Flügel (apparently following Ms. C, since no comment is made) had based his reading and interpretation of 'Nahnahah,' as a nomen proprium, upon the Arabic verb *nahnah*, 'depulit, retinuit (aliquem a re),' for which verb, indeed, there is good authority in the older Arabic lexicographers.²¹ Yet I still felt misgivings as to the reading and explanation adopted by Flügel, because it seemed to me non-Manichaean in spirit. A further study then followed with regard to the variants recorded in Flügel's footnotes concerning the three other manuscripts (Hammer-Purgstall, Leyden, Vienna). These furnish: H. اللهه, L. البهيه, V. الله. Doctor Gottheil observed that the unpointed word in manuscript V. can be read as *al-bahiyyah*, the form *bahiyyah* being a well-known adjective that denotes 'possessing the quality of beauty or goodness, shining, brilliant, radiant.'²² Further support for this reading is given by the Leyden manuscript (L.), which explicitly marks the letters as *b h i m (!) h*, and can be read as *bahiyyah* by omitting the *m* as excrescent.

On the basis of these conferences with my colleague I venture to offer, tentatively, the suggestion that we should consider the designation in question as an adjective, not as a proper name, and adopt the reading *al-bahiyyah*, 'the beautiful, goodly, shining, brilliant,

²¹ See Freytag, *Lexicon*, vol. 4, p. 347 (citations from Arab lexicographers); De Goeje, *Glossarium* (Tabarī), p. 532 (two citations, one being from an old Dīwān); Wahrmund, *Handwörterbuch Arab. Deutsch*, 2, p. 1075, *nahnah*, 'abhalten.'

²² See Freytag, *Lexicon*, 1. p. 168, *bahī*, adj. 'pulcher, nitens, splendens'; *bahā*, noun, 'pulchritudo, splendor'; also verb *bahā*, 'nituit, micat'; cf. Wahrmund, *Handwörterbuch Arab. Deutsch*, 1. p. 267, 'in schönheit glänzend'; see likewise Lane, *Arab. Eng. Dict.* 1. p. 270 (adj.), 269 (verb).

radiant.' Probably 'radiant' will best suit the Manichaean sense. In translating such terms from the Arabic we need to take into account the atmosphere involved. But it will remain for others more qualified than myself to decide whether we are ultimately entitled to say *Exit* 'Nahnaha' as 'Mutter der Lebendigen,' and *Enter* 'the Radiant Mother of the Living,' thus bedecked for the role.

Addendum. One point more in this connection. The interpretation proposed, as giving an adjectival epithet to the Mother of the Living, may possibly help to throw some light on the meaning of the problematic Turkish adjective *ögütmiş* (or *ogütmiş*) applied to the Mother (*ög, og*) in one of the Turkish Manichaean Fragments from Khocho. In Frag. T. II. D. 176 recto, l. 14-15 (= Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, 3, p. 15) there occurs the phrase *ogütmiş og*, which Le Coq renders by 'die *gepriesene Mutter(-Gottheit),' leaving the translation of the adjective '*gepriesene' as uncertain. Andreas, in a later rendering of the same passage, takes the attribute in question as a participial adjective (but adds an interrogation mark) and translates as 'die Mutter, welche sie [die Tochter des Lichts] gebiert(?)'.²² The query now raised is a double one. Can we perhaps associate this debatable Turkish epithet in some way with the meaning suggested for the Arabic above? Or can we connect its meaning in some manner with that implied in the previous discussion of Rām-rātūkh and the footnote concerning the Chinese *Shan*? Specialists in those fields must decide.

3. The Manichaean 'Seals'.

Mānī's religion enjoined upon its followers a belief in and the keeping of certain 'seals' as consecrated symbols of the faith. These seals are seven in number, as can now be shown. With three of them (moral) we have long been familiar as the Three Seals of the mouth, hand, and bosom, to be observed in the daily conduct of practical life. But until the Turfan texts became available it was not known that there were four additional seals, spiritual or doctrinal in their nature, the belief in which as articles of faith was to be accepted by the Manichaean before entering into the

²² See Andreas cited in Reitzenstein, *Das Mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse*, p. 52.

religion. Drawing upon these texts from Eastern Turkistan, and supplementing them from other sources, the present section of the paper will be devoted to calling attention to this fourfold group in particular, and then to discussing also the well-known group of three in somewhat less detail.

(a) These four doctrinal seals, which first came to notice through the discovery of the Manichaean documents themselves, are called the 'Four Bright Seals,' emblematic of true faith. The passage in which they are particularly referred to is found in the Turkish Manichaean Confession-prayer, where the faithful repeats the following words:

'Four Bright Seals (*tört y(a)ruk tamya*) have we sealed in our hearts. (1) One is Love, (and that is) the seal of Azrua the God. (2) The second (is) Faith, the seal of the God of the Sun and the Moon. (3) The third is the Fear of God, (and this is) the seal of the Fivefold God (i. e. Primal Man, Ormazd). (4) The fourth is the wise Knowledge, the seal of the Burkhans (or Divine Revelers of Religion).' ²⁴

The four seals of doctrine therefore comprise (1) love for the Godhead, (2) faith in the Sun and Moon as the great orbs of light, (3) reverence for Primal Man as a celestial power, (4) belief in the existence of Divine Messengers who, from time to time, bring inspired knowledge to the world.

A ray of light breaks in. The four spiritual seals betoken the fourfold majesty of the Father God in his divine aspects (*τὸν τετραπρόσωπον Πατέρα τοῦ Μεγέθους*), as so named in the Greek Formula of Abjuration to be recited by Manichaeans on their conversion to Christianity. Further elucidation is obtained when these four seals are brought into connection with a Turfan Pahlavi Fragment that refers to ' (1) God Zarvān, (2) Light, (3) Power, (4) Wisdom,' and also into connection with a similar one in a Turkish Manichaean Fragment of like content. But this point is not elaborated here because it will be discussed, with spe-

²⁴ See Le Coq, *Khvastuanift*, II. 177-183 (*JRAS.* 1911, p. 291-292); id. German edition, *Chvastuanift*, p. 17, l. 15-18 (*Abh. kgl. Preuss. Ak. Wiss.*, Berlin, 1911, p. 17).

cific references, in my forthcoming volume devoted to Manichaeism. Sufficient here to have drawn attention to the connection.²⁵

A proper understanding of these Four Bright Seals as spiritual and as doctrines of faith helps to throw added light on a passage in the Fihrist which sums up the spiritual precepts that Mānī gave as (four) articles of faith, besides the three seals of conduct and the ten commandments, in the following words:

‘The Belief in the Four Great-majesties (lit. ‘Greatnesses’),²⁶ namely, (1) God, (2) his Light, (3) his Power, and (4) his Wisdom. Now, (1) God, whose name be glorious, is the King of the Paradises of Light; (2) his Light (is) the Sun and the Moon; (3) his Power (is) the Five Angels, namely, the Zephyr, Wind, Light, Water, and Fire; (4) his Wisdom, the Holy Religion.’ [This latter is further explained by special reference to the revealers and exemplars of the faith].²⁷

The application of this Arabic passage is quite obvious in view of what has been brought out above.

The interpretation that has been suggested aids likewise in making clear the fact that we have a similar allusion to the four doctrinal seals in a Chinese Manichaean Fragment, discovered by Pelliot (see *JA.* 1913, p. 105), which contains rules for entering into the faith. The believer, after accepting the tenets of the Two Principles and the Three Times, or Ages, is then led (*op. cit.* p. 116) to the consideration of ‘the Four Calm Bodies of the Law,—which Four Bodies of the Law are . . .’²⁸ Although

²⁵ The explanation offered above appears to dispose of the uncertainty which puzzled Le Coq in regard to the number ‘four’ (in contrast to the familiar ‘three’ seals) when dealing with the Turkish passage (see Le Coq, *Khuastuanift*, p. 303, n. 34). I have since found that Alfarc, *Les Écritures*, 2. 56-57, holds a view similar to my own. Differently, Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals*, 2. 343; compare furthermore Reitzenstein, *Iran. Erlös.* p. 203-204.

²⁶ The Four Great-majesties are the same as that in the grouping given also just above. Besides these four, Manichaeism recognizes also ten and twelve great majestic essences, see Flügel, *Mani*, p. 272, n. 198, p. 274, n. 203.

²⁷ See Flügel, *Mani*, p. 64 (text), 95 (transl.); large edition of the Fihrist, 1, p. 333.

²⁸ Pelliot, *JA.* 1913, p. 116, who adds (note 3), ‘Nous ignorons abso-

the enumeration of the four is missing, because the rest of the text is lost, it is nevertheless certain that we can supply the general contents of the lacuna by referring to the material in the various quotations which have been cited above. So much for the luminous Four Seals of doctrine.

(b) We may now turn briefly to the familiar Three Seals, which are ethical and practical in their nature as relating to the conduct of the body. These are not only now found referred to in the actual Manichaean documents, but they have previously been known through allusions in Christian and Muhammedan writers.

Thus, through Saint Augustine we are well acquainted with these *tria signacula* as 'the seals of the mouth, hand, and bosom'—*oris, manus* (or *manuum*), *sinus*.²⁹ In an-Nadīm's *Fihrist* they are grouped simply as the 'Three Seals' (*thalath khawātim*),³⁰ although, in the same work, the author makes mention likewise of a special Epistle by Mani on the 'Seal of the Mouth.'³¹

In the Turfan Pahlavi Fragments themselves, as far as published, there are two allusions to the Manichaean Seals. One of these (M. 32 recto, l. 6-7) refers to 'the complete seal of my hand, mouth, and thought.'³² The other (S. 9 recto b, lines 19-21), in the Petrograd collection, alludes to the soul, which has been imprisoned in darkness, as being led to believe on Ohrmazd (Primal Man) and to 'accept most actively every injunction, commandment, and the seal of perfect peace.'³³ In the Turkish

lument ce que sont ces "corps de la Loi." [Postscript. I have since found that my interpretation of this point, which was independently reached, Feb. 27, 1923, and brought out in a brief oral communication at the Centenary Celebration of the Royal Asiatic Society in July of that year, had been anticipated by Alfarié, *Les Écritures*, 2. 56. So much the better for such admirable support.]

²⁹ Augustine, *De Moribus Manichaeorum*, ch. 10, § 19, and ch. 11-19 (§ 20-73), where the great Church Father discusses these. A fuller treatment of this subject is omitted for the present, being reserved for treatment elsewhere.

³⁰ See Flügel, p. 64, l. 5 (text); p. 95, l. 20 (transl.); cf. also p. 41, 281, 289-291.

³¹ Flügel, p. 74, l. 1 (*khātām-al-fam*); p. 103 (§ 13); Kessler, p. 216.

³² M. 32 recto. l. 6-7 (= Mū. 2. p. 63), *mūhr 'ispūrig ēē man dast rūmō 'ūd 'andēšān*.

³³ S. 32 recto b, lines 19-21 (Salemman, *Manichaica*, 3. p. 9), *harv visp-iš andarz 'ūd farmān 'ūd mūhr 'i xwāštī vazīštīhā pādīrīft ānād*.

Manichaen Confession-prayer (ll. 320-321) these ethical symbols are likewise called the 'Three Seals' (*üč t(a)m-ya*), when the Auditor accepts the articles of 'the Ten Commandments, the Seven Alms, the Three Seals';³⁴ and they are furthermore implied in a passage in the same Confession-prayer which refers to keeping the Ten Commandments, 'three with the mouth, three with the heart, three with the hand, and one with the whole self.'³⁵

In this connection it may be stated that the conception of the three seals, while corresponding in idea to the Zoroastrian injunction to preserve purity in 'thought, word, and deed' or to the Buddhistic precepts regarding 'body, speech, and thought,' may have been a wholly natural one, and not due to any special outside influence upon Mānī.³⁶

To sum up. Sufficient evidence has been adduced to show the existence of the doctrine of seven seals in Manichaeism: four spiritual, as tenets of faith; and three moral, as standards of conduct. Emphasis, in conclusion, must be laid on the fact that Hearers and Elect alike were expected both to accept the four bright seals of faith and to observe the three moral seals in practice. This implied a high standard of living if they were truly conformed to.

³⁴ See Le Coq, *Khuastuanift*, ll. 319-321 (*JRAS.* 1911, p. 298).

³⁵ See Le Coq, *op. cit.* ll. 193-195. In regard to associating the Three Seals thus with the Ten Commandments consult also the remarks by Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911, p. 574, n. 1; and *JA.* 1913, p. 380, top.

³⁶ Cf. *JA.* 1911, p. 574, n. 1, end.

BRIEF NOTE

A Pāḷism in Buddhist Sanskrit

In *JAOS* 43. 410 ff. we established the technical meaning of *ādisati*, *anvādisati*, *anudisati*, and *uddisati* in the Peta-Vatthu as signifying 'to make over, to transfer or ascribe, or to give a gift in the name of.' We pointed out that *ādisati*, *anvādisati*, and *uddisati* are used with the accusative of the gift and the genitive or dative of the person who is benefited spiritually or to whom the merit is transferred.

It may be of interest also to note a similar use of the root *dis* and *ā-dis* in the Avadānaśataka, Book V, which in Sanskrit describes the torments of the *pretas*. This idiom can be understood only in the light of what has been proved in the aforementioned article; in other words we are confronted with a Pāḷism. Now it seems that the Sanskrit writer felt that he was employing a foreign expression, since for the sake of clearness he used *nāmnā* with the genitive of the person in whose name the gift was presented instead of the dative of the person who was to be benefited; at the same time, however, he retained this technical Pāli use of *dis* and *ā-dis*. In the Peta-Vatthu this idiom was amplified only once (II, 8, 8) by the insertion of *hitāya* with the genitive of the person benefited. Judging from this single instance as contrasted with the other numerous examples with the dative or genitive of the person, we inferred (*JAOS* 43. 411) that the original idiom in Pāli was the verb with the accusative of the gift and the dative or genitive of the person to whom the merit was transferred. With this fact in mind we are safe in assuming that while employing a Pāḷism, the Sanskrit writer tried to make this technical religious meaning clear by the addition of *nāmnā* with the genitive.

Let us now examine these Pāḷisms in the Avadānaśataka.

In V, 5, five hundred *pretas* besought Mahāmāudgalyāyana to visit their kinsmen and persuade them to give donations in their name. In this connexion the ghosts said: *buddhapramukhaṁ bhīksusaṅghaṁ bhojayitvāsmākaṁ nāmnā dakṣiṇādeśanāṁ kārayitvā cāsmākaṁ pretayoner mokṣaḥ syād iti*: "Induce them to feed the Chapter of monks presided over by the Buddha and to

present a gift in our name; then we shall be free from the *preta* existence."

In V, 6, a *preti*, the mother of Uttara, in asking her son for aid, says: *mama nāmnā buddhapramukhaṃ bhikṣusaṅghaṃ bhojaya dakṣiṇāṃ ādeśaya deśanāṃ ca kārapa; evaṃ pretayoner mama mokṣaḥ syād iti*: "In my name cause (my kinsfolk) to give a meal to the Chapter of monks presided over by the Buddha; induce them to make over the merit of the gift, yea persuade them to make a transfer; in that way I shall be freed from the *preta* existence." In continuing the story, we read: *tata āyusmān uttaro buddhapramukhaṃ bhikṣusaṅghaṃ praṇītenāhāreṇa saṃtarpya pretiṃ nāmnā dakṣiṇādeśanāṃ kārayāmāsa*: "After the venerable Uttara had brought food and refreshed the Chapter of monks presided over by the Buddha, he made over to the *preti* the virtue of the gift (or gave the gift in the name of the *preti*)." The Buddha then confirms or reënforces this transfer of merit (*bhagavāṇs ca pañcāṅgopetena svareṇa svayam eva dakṣiṇādeśanāṃ ādīśati*), saying:

*ito dānād dhi yat puṇyaṃ tat pretiṃ anugacchatu
uttīṣṭhatāṃ kṣipram iyaṃ pretalokāt sudāruṇād iti*:

"Verily, whatever good is derived from this gift, let that go to the credit of the *preti*; may she quickly rise from the exceedingly terrible *preta* world."

Here the transfer of merit is described without the root *dis*, and consequently we feel that we have found the correct interpretation of the above passages.

In this connexion let us compare Peta-Vatthu IV, 1, 51-52, where the king says (51):

*Taṃ disvā samvegamaḷattham bhante
tappaccayā cāhaṃ dadāmi dānaṃ
paṭigaṇha bhante vatthayugāni aṭṭha
yakkhass' im' āgacchantu dakkhiṇāyo*:

"Reverend sir, I saw him in terror and in sin; therefore I give a gift. Lord, accept eight pair of garments, and let these presents go to the credit of the *yakkha*." The ascetic replied (52):

*Addhā hi dānaṃ bahudhā pasattham
dadato ca te akkhayadhammam atthu*

*paṭiggaṇhāmi te vatthayugāni aṭṭha
yakkhass' im' āgacchantu dakkhiṇāyo:*

“Surely the gift in many ways is acceptable, and may it have endless virtue for you, the giver. I accept from you the eight pair of garments; may these presents redound to the credit of the *yakkha*.”

It is interesting to note that the two languages use the root *gam* in describing the transfer of merit, when the technical idiom is not employed. Although the Peta-Vatthu uses *ā-gam* with the genitive or dative, while the Avadānaśataka has *anu-gam* with the accusative, nevertheless a common mode of thought underlies the two expressions. In these technical phrases of the Avadānaśataka where we meet the root *diś*, we detect a Pāliism, but this does not mean that the Sanskrit author was translating from a Pāli original. We should rather infer that these terms were in current use by the Buddhists long before these works were composed.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

University of Pennsylvania.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Les théories diplomatiques de l'Inde ancienne et l'Arthasastra.

Par KÂLIDÂS NÂG, docteur en lettres. Paris: JEAN MAISON-NEUVE & FILS, 1923. 149 pp.

One has long been accustomed to the fluent English of the native Hindu scholar but it is somewhat unusual to find a thesis on Sanskrit literature written by one who writes French as easily as he speaks Bengalese. Dr. Kâlidâs Nâg, already an M. A. of Calcutta University, has completed his academic training as a pupil of Professor Sylvain Lévi and published what is presumably his doctor-dissertation in a revised form under the able guidance of the distinguished French Sanskritist. The subject of this work is one that has been much discussed in recent years and has laid the foundation for a number of more ambitious volumes such as Professor Upendra Nath Ghoshal's *History of Hindu Political Theories* and Dr. Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, not to speak of the many essays in English and German on the same question of the polity of the ancient Hindus, as taught under the name of Arthasâstra by Kauṭilya. If these other modern books have a wider theme they yet depend for their value mainly on the correct understanding of this ancient text, as that in turn depends for its historical worth on the question whether it is really the product of the fourth century B. C. and from the hand of the minister of Candragupta. Dr. Nâg, in the present modest volume, gives a very complete summary of the political theories of Kauṭilya regarded not as a sudden phenomenon but as a logical continuation and development of views held in older times, as a link, in fact, between the Vedic period and the later age, which really preserves the Kauṭilya tradition. The author thus has occasion to depict the political views found in quite a wide range of Sanskrit literature and his introduction will be of interest to all historical students. In judging the disputed points in reference to Kauṭilya himself, the sanity and scholarship to be expected of a pupil of Sylvain Lévi are well shown. Dr. Nâg reasonably urges that in Kauṭilya we have no Hindu Machiavelli but a writer whose first care is the state controlled in the interest of morality in so far as the usual rules of morality can be carried out. The author is duly

impressed by the marks of more recent date in parts of the Arthaśāstra and it is to his credit as a Hindu that he has resisted the natural temptation to over-estimate the historical value of his chosen author as handed down in the Arthaśāstra's present form: "Dès lors, nous devons renoncer à l'idée que l'Arthaśāstra soit sorti tout entier de la tête de Kautilya comme Minerva de celle de Zeus, et qu'il ait été écrit pour le seul Candragupta." The author's identification of the epic Kaṇika with Cānakya deserves favorable consideration. The praiseworthy little book concludes with a list of political terms found in Sanskrit inscriptions.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

Yale University.

Das antike Seewesen. Von AUGUST KÖSTER. Erste Auflage, mit 104 Abbildungen im Text und auf Tafeln. Berlin: SCHÖETZ UND PARRHYSIUS, 1923. 254 pp. Price for foreign countries, 15 Swiss francs.

Dr. Köster combines a first-hand knowledge of modern navigation with a long and thorough archeological training. His book gives a clear account of the development of navigation on and near the ancient Mediterranean. It is especially pleasing to me to find that, without having seen my article in *AJSL* for January 1923, he has reached conclusions practically identical with mine on the structural origin of the Nile boat.

"Navigation is as old as humanity." It has been invented many times in many different quarters, and its beginnings are lost before the beginning not merely of history but of archeology. For instance, at the earliest times of which we have knowledge, both the Egyptians and the Cretans possessed wooden ships, and the ships of the two peoples differed markedly from one another in structure. The Phenicians learned ship-building and navigation first from the Egyptians, and did not become notable mariners until the latter part of the second millennium B. C., when Egyptian shipping declined; they seem also to have learned some valuable lessons from the Aegean peoples and from the Assyro-Babylonians. On the Tigris and Euphrates, river navigation reached a high development in very early times, but Köster does not believe that the Sumerians or the Babylonians ever developed a marine com-

merce. When the Greeks arrived on the coast of the Aegean, they learned ship-building and navigation from the Cretans. Köster follows out in detail the development which shipping underwent in the hands of the Greeks. He also deals with the first efforts of the Romans to develop a navy in their conflict with the Carthaginians; and he devotes brief sections to such matters as lighthouses and piracy.

The only point on which I find myself in serious disagreement with Köster is his explanation of the *θύρη* and *λίθος* of Herodotus II, 96, which he takes quite in the sense intended by Herodotus. Köster promises a discussion of this point in the *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* for 1923; in the meantime I must still hold to the opinion put forward by Assmann in *Hermes* 31 (1896) pp. 182-184.

There are a few mistakes due perhaps to haste. On p. 15, the reader would get the impression that Sahure lived more recently than Isesi.¹ On p. 43, the "Grabschrift des Chenticheti" is surely a mistaken reference to the inscription of Khnumhotep in the tomb of Khui (Sethe, *Urkunden des alten Reichs*, p. 140-141) and the total of eleven voyages includes voyages to Byblos as well as to Punt (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 45 [1908] p. 10). At the bottom of p. 22 the misprint "Segelschiffe" (for Seeschiffe) might possibly confuse a beginner.

The book contains an excellent index, but neither a table of contents nor a list of plates; the plates, being scattered thru the text, are not easy to locate when referred to merely by number. The illustrations themselves are well chosen, and in general well reproduced, but there are some unfortunate exceptions: Hatshepsut's Punt ships are reproduced after Dümichen, and the Medinet Habu ships after Champollion.²

The defects which I have mentioned are of small importance. Dr. Köster has thought out his subject as only an archeologist who knows the sea could do. He writes clearly; he avoids nautical

¹ I know of no reason to suppose that the rope girdle persisted longer on the sea-going ships of the Egyptians than on Nile boats.

² The only usable publications of the Medinet Habu scene, so far as I know, are Mariette, *Voyage dans la Haute-Égypte*, Vol. II, pl. 55 (2d ed., 1893) and Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur*, pl. 94 A and B. Mariette reproduced only a fraction of the scene.

terms when he can, and those which he must use he explains in words which anyone can understand. His book will have great value both as an introduction to the subject and as a work of reference.

WILLIAM F. EDGERTON.

Columbia University.

MINOR NOTICES

Altindische Politik. Eine Uebersicht auf Grund der Quellen. Von ALFRED HILLEBRANDT. Jena: GUSTAV FISCHER, 1923. xii + 211 pp.

A handy compendium of both theoretical and practical statecraft in India as presented in the Kāuṭīliya Arthaśāstra and the Hindu epic. The special value of the book lies in its extensive exploitation of the epic sources, especially those found in the twelfth book of the Mahābhārata; they are here collated with the materials of the Kāuṭīliya in a much more complete way than ever before. Later sources are not used. The exposition is characterized by the clarity and intelligence which are to be expected in any work from the distinguished author's pen. He still holds to his previously expressed view that the Kāuṭīliya was not composed by the famous minister of Candragupta, but was a product of his school.

Thomas William Rhys Davids, 1843-1922. [By R. CHALMERS.]

From the Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. X.

London: Published for the British Academy by HUMPHREY

MILFORD, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS. [1923.] 5 pp.

Biographical sketch of the great Pāli scholar.

Irrigation in India. By D. G. HARRIS. [India of To-day. Volume II.] London: HUMPHREY MILFORD; New York: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, AMERICAN BRANCH; 1923. 102 pp. Price \$1.00.

Survey of (mainly governmental) irrigation in India, principally that carried out in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and that planned for the immediate future.

A Practical Kurdish Grammar. By L. O. FOSSUM. Inter-Synodal Evangelical Lutheran Orient-Mission Society (printed by the AUGSBURG PUBLISHING HOUSE, Minneapolis, Minnesota), 1919. 279 pp.

This book, devoted to Kurdish as spoken in Suj Bulak and Sulaimania, may profitably be used in connexion with Soane's *Grammar of the Kurmanji or Kurdish Language* (London, 1913), since the two grammars supplement one another.

L. H. G.

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The December number of the Journal (Volume 43, Number 5) has been delayed; it should reach members and subscribers about the time that this issue is received, or shortly after.

The Executive Committee by unanimous vote has elected the following to membership in the Society:

Prof. Ralph K. Hickok

Pres. Frederick Lent

Prof. Nicholas Martinovitch

Rev. Ralph B. Nesbitt

Prof. E. H. Sturtevant

Jainacharya Vijaya Indra Suri

PERSONALIA

Dr. WILLIAM F. EDGERTON, lately of the University of Chicago, has been appointed Assistant Professor of Ancient History in the University of Louisville (Kentucky).

MĀGADHĪ AND ARDHAMĀGADHĪ

WALTER EUGENE CLARK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1. *Statement of the Problem*

LASSEN¹ tried to prove that the Prākṛit dialect spoken in the Prabodhacandrodaya by the Digambara Jain monk, by the Pupil of the Cārvāka, and by the Messenger from Orissa² is Ardhamāgadhī. According to Pischel³ the dialect spoken by these is Māgadhī and there is no trace of Ardhamāgadhī here or in any other Sanskrit drama. Pischel's statement has met with almost universal acceptance. Jain monks appear on the stage in the Prabodhacandrodaya (Act 3), in the Mudrārākṣasa,⁴ in the Laṭakamelaka,⁵ in the Amṛtdaya,⁶ and in the Vidyāpariṇaya.⁷ According to tradition the language of the old Jain Suttas was Āṛṣa, which is also called Ardhamāgadhī.⁸ The canonical books of the Śvetāmbara Jains are in this same language. Their non-canonical books are in Jain

¹ *Institutiones linguae prācriticae*, p. 410 ff. and App., pp. 39, 61. Followed by Bhandarkar, *Wilson Philological Lectures*, p. 78.

² Also the few brief phrases spoken by the Jain Faith, by the Buddhist Faith, and by the Kāpālīka Faith. Lassen saw Ardhamāgadhī in the Mudrārākṣasa and in the Dhūrtasamāgama too. Grill (pp. 139-40) also tried to prove the use of Ardhamāgadhī in the Veṇīsaṃhāra. Mārkaṇḍeya, *Prākṛitasarvasva* 12. 38 (ed. Vizagapatam), quotes a passage from the third act of the Veṇīsaṃhāra as Ardhamāgadhī.

³ *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, p. 16. "Von AMg. findet sich in den Dramen keine Spur." Konow (*Das indische Drama*, p. 17) agrees, but makes an exception for the Turfan fragments edited by Lüders, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, and possibly for Bhāsa's Kāṇabhāra. Both of these texts were unknown to Pischel. Printz, *Bhāsa's Prākṛit*, p. 6, admits Ardhamāgadhī in Bhāsa's Kāṇabhāra, but "nur als Notbehelf."

⁴ Ed. Hillebrandt, pp. 116-9, 122-6, 129-33.

⁵ Ed. Kāvyaṃālā 20 (1889), pp. 12 ff., 25 ff.

⁶ Ed. Kāvyaṃālā 59 (1897), p. 66. Called Arhatsiddhānta.

⁷ Ed. Kāvyaṃālā 39 (1893), p. 40. Called Vivasanasiddhānta. The language is Sanskrit. No Prākṛit is used in this drama.

⁸ Pischel, *Grammatik*, p. 15 ff.

Māhārāṣṭrī. All the Jain monks who appear on the stage are Digambara, except possibly in the Amṛtodaya. They all speak Prākṛit except in the Vidyāpariṇaya. Concerning the dialect in which the books of the Digambara Jains are written our knowledge is, as yet, very limited. Pischel (p. 20) calls it Jain Śauraseni, but remarks that it shows a mixture of forms from Māhārāṣṭrī, Ardhamāgadhī, and Śauraseni. Did the authors of our dramas make any effort to approximate to the language of the Digambara books? Did they lump the Jains all together and try to approximate to the language of the Śvetāmbara canonical books? Did they, as a result of the later dramatic convention which prescribed Māgadhī for all the lower characters, make the despised heretics speak merely a conventionalized Māgadhī which had little resemblance to the dialects actually used by the Jains? Must we restrict the term Ardhamāgadhī to the Ārṣa of the Śvetāmbara Jains, or may we use it in a generalized sense as referring to any dramatic dialect which combines Māgadhī elements with Śauraseni elements?

2. *The Māgadhī Dialect in Vararuci, Hemacandra, Kramadīśvara, and Mārkaṇḍeya.*

Vararuci⁹ describes only four Prākṛit dialects: Māhārāṣṭrī, Paiśāci, Māgadhī, and Śauraseni. He states that Māgadhī is the language of the Māgadhas and that its original is Śauraseni. This statement does not imply that Vararuci thought that Māgadhī was derived linguistically from Śauraseni. It is made only for the practical purposes of grammatical description, and implies only that the dialect agrees with the rules given for Śauraseni except in the cases noted in the following specific rules.¹⁰ It seems to be equivalent to the more definite statement of Hemacandra (4. 302) *śeṣam śaurasenivat*. The rule of Vararuci (12. 32) *śeṣam māhārāṣṭrivat* at the end of the section on Śauraseni applies only to this section, not to the preceding sections on Paiśāci and Māgadhī as well. It is curious that Vararuci, who says that Paiśāci and Māgadhī are based on Śauraseni, does not place these sections (ten and eleven) after section twelve. Hemacandra has the natural and logical order.

⁹ Cowell, *The Prākṛita-Prakāśa of Vararuci*. Edition of 1854. Māgadhī is described in section 11.

¹⁰ See Senart, *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, II. 516-7; Gawroński, *ZVS* 44. 271.

Vararuci gives the following special rules for Māgadhi:

1. *ś* is substituted for *s* and *ṣ*.
2. *y* is substituted for *j*.
3. The palatal letters are pronounced with but a very slight contact of the tongue with the roof of the mouth (if the conjectural emendation is correct).
4. *haḍakka* is substituted for *hṛdaya*.
5. *yy* is substituted for *ry* and *rj*.
6. *sk* is substituted for *kṣ*.
7. *hake*, *hage*, and *ahake* are substituted for *aham*.
8. The nominative singular of nouns in *a* ends in *i*, *e*, or *a*.
9. The nominative singular of nouns in *ta* ends in *u*, *i*, *e*, or *a*.
10. *ha* may optionally be substituted for the ending of the genitive singular, and before it the vowel is lengthened.
11. The vocative singular of nouns in *a* ends in *ā*.
12. *ciṣṭha* is substituted for *ciṭṭha*.
13. *ḍa* is substituted for *ta* in the past passive participles of *kṛ*, *mṛ*, and *gam*.
14. *dāṇi* is substituted for the gerund ending *tvā*.
15. *śiālā*, *śiāle*, or *śiālake* are substituted for *śṛgāla*.

Hemacandra (4.287-302) gives the following rules for Māgadhi:

1. The nominative singular of masculine nouns in *a* ends in *e*.
2. *l* and *ś* are substituted for *r* and *s*. Since he starts from the Prakrit form and not from the Sanskrit form the change of *ṣ* to *ś* is included.
3. *s* and *ṣ* in consonant groups become *s*, except in the word *grīṣma*.
4. *ṭṭa* and *ṣṭha* become *sṭa*.
5. *sṭha* and *rṭha* become *sta*.
6. *y* is substituted for *j* and *dy*.
7. *nya*, *ṇya*, *jña*, and *ṇja* become *ñña*.
8. *vaññadi* is substituted for *vrajati*.
9. *cch*, except when initial, becomes *śca*.
10. *kṣa*, when not initial, becomes *jihvāmūliya* plus *k*.
11. *kṣa* becomes *śka* in the words *prekṣ* and *ācakṣ*.
12. *ciṣṭha* is substituted for *ciṭṭha*.
13. The genitive singular of words in *a* or *ā* may end in *āha*.
14. The genitive plural of words in *a* or *ā* may end in *āha* with *anunāsika* at the end.
15. *hage* is substituted for *aham* and *rayam*.

Kramadīśvara's rules for Māgadhi, as given by Lassen (p. 393) from a very unsatisfactory manuscript, are as follows:

1. *ś* is substituted for *s* and *ṣ*.
2. *r* becomes *l*.

3. *yapacavargayuktā manāg uccāryāḥ*. The reading is very doubtful, but this seems to correspond in some way to the third rule of Vararuci given above. See Cowell *ad loc.* and Grierson *JRAS* 1913. 391-6.
4. *haḍakka* is substituted for *hṛdaya*.
5. *j* becomes *y*.
6. *dāṇi* is substituted for the gerund ending *tvā*.
7. *ṇiā* is substituted for the ending *ta* of the past passive participle.
8. The vocative ends in *ā*.
9. The nominative plural ends in *āhu* or *ā*.
10. *ciṭṭha* is substituted for the root *sthā*.
11. *hake* and *hage* are substituted for *ahaṁ*.

Mārkaṇḍeya (chapter 12) gives the following rules for Mā-gadhī:

1. *ś* is substituted for *s* and *ṣ*.
2. *l* may optionally be substituted for *r*.
3. *kkh* becomes *śk* except in the word *kkhu*.
4. *t* becomes *dh* in the word *vasati*.
5. *ś* is substituted for the first letter in the combinations *tt*, *tth*, *ṭṭ*, *ṭṭh*, and *cch*.
6. *bu* of *bubhukṣā* is dropped.
7. *h* is substituted for *dh*. The commentary adds "when not initial" and says that *th* is sometimes changed to *h*.
8. *gomika* is used for *gauravita*.
9. *vaanśa* is used for *vayasya*.
10. *śiāla* is used for *śyāla*.
11. *kośaṇa* etc. are used for *koṣṇa* and other compounds of *uṣṇa*.
12. *haḍakka* is substituted for *hṛdaya*.
13. *macchikā* is used for *mātr*.
14. *vaṭau va(ḍu)vraḥ*.
15. *gaṇṇā* is used for *gaṇanā*.
16. *pirtara* is used for *piśācaka*.
17. *raśca* is used for *vrkṣa*.
18. *ladana* is used for *ratna*.
19. *y* is prefixed to *c* and *j*.
20. Before the suffix *ka* the vowel is optionally lengthened.
21. *dāṇi* is optionally substituted for the gerund ending *tvā*.
22. *kca cid it*. The commentary says *ktvāsthāne syāt* and quotes from the sixth act of the Śākuntala *paśumāli kaledi*. There seems to be some confusion here.
23. *u* takes the place of *ara* or *apa*.
24. *e* or *i* takes the place of *a* in the nominative singular masculine.
25. The vocative masculine often ends in *e* or *o*.
26. *ā* may be used in the vocative (*ākṣepe*).
27. *ha* may be used optionally in the genitive and before it the vowel is lengthened.

28. *hakke, hake, hagge, hage, hagā* are used for *ahan*.
29. *tumham* or *tumhe* are used for *yuṣmān*.
30. *ściṇṭa* is used for *ciṭṭha*.
31. *bhaviadi* or *bhuviadi* are used for *bhaviṣyati*.
32. *kr, mṛ, and gam* take *ḍa* in the past passive participle; sometimes *da*.
33. Case endings are often dropped or interchanged.
34. The personal endings of verbs sometimes have the final vowel lengthened. The commentary gives *ośaladhā* as an example.

The two sets of rules given by Vararuci and Hemacandra agree in the following particulars:

1. The substitution of *ś* for *s* and *ṣ*.
2. The substitution of *y* for *j*. Vararuci's rule for the change of *ry* and *rj* to *yy* is included in Hemacandra's rule.
3. The change of *kṣa* to *ska* in the words *prekṣ* and *ācakṣ*. Vararuci makes the change universal. Hemacandra, in all other cases, prescribes *jihvāmūliya* plus *k*.
4. The substitution of *hage* for *ahan*.
5. The nominative singular masculine in *e*.
6. The genitive singular in *āha*.
7. The substitution of *ciṣṭha* for *ciṭṭha*.

In all other particulars the two sets of rules are different, and Hemacandra has several most remarkable and puzzling additions. Note especially that Vararuci gives no rule for the change of *r* to *l*. And yet the presence of *l* is universally regarded as one of the surest indications of Māgadhi. Bloch¹¹ suggests that some rules may have fallen out of our manuscripts of Bhāmaha's commentary to Vararuci, and that this particular rule may have been one of those lost in the mechanical process of manuscript copying. He points out that in an anonymous commentary to Vararuci some rules are omitted which are given in Bhāmaha, some are given in a different order, some differ in content and verbal expression, and that in some manuscripts of Bhāmaha's commentary many of the rules are omitted.¹² The anonymous commentary (Prākṛtamañjarī) has since been edited by the Nirṇayasāgara Press. The author was a South Indian and later in date than Bhāmaha. His text of Vararuci differs considerably from the text given by Cowell. Unfortunately the text extends only to the end

¹¹ *Vararuci und Hemacandra*, pp. 23, 28.

¹² See also Pischel, *Grammatik*, p. 35 and *De Grammaticis Pracriticis*, pp. 10-16.

of section eight. It gives no help for the section on Māgadhi. The text of Vararuci is in an unsatisfactory condition, but this particular rule for the change of *r* to *l* is not found in any of the manuscripts yet collated. The corruption, if there is one, must be a very old one. Bloch (*op. cit.*, pp. 28-9) appeals to Kramadīśvara in support of his assumption that a rule for the change of *r* to *l* may have been lost in the text of Vararuci. Kramadīśvara gives a separate rule for the change of *r* to *l*. He seems to have made use of Vararuci, but it is certain that he used other sources as well.¹³ The evidence is not sufficient to prove the loss of a sūtra in Vararuci. Lassen¹⁴ also thinks that the omission is due to a scribal error, and remarks that the letter *l* occurs in several examples which are given in illustration of the rules. The examples, however, are found in the commentary of Bhāmaha. They are not conclusive for Vararuci himself. Forms of *l* might easily have crept into the text of the commentary later even though no specific rule was present in the text of Vararuci. Lassen¹⁵ too appeals to Kramadīśvara for corroboration. Kramadīśvara has no rule to prescribe the nominative singular in *e*. The manuscripts are so bad and the text is so uncertain that it is quite possible that a rule has dropped out, especially as such a rule is given in a following sūtra which deals with Śābarī, a dialect which is based on Māgadhi. But the loss of a rule in Kramadīśvara does not prove the loss of a rule in Vararuci.

We do not know the source or sources from which Vararuci derived his rules for Māgadhi. We do not know the date of Vararuci. We do not know whether his work is based on earlier grammarians or whether it is based directly on such literature as was known to him. We do not know whether his rules or the rules of his predecessors, if there are any, were already partly artificial or whether they actually reflected the dialect spoken in Magadha. Senart remarks¹⁶ that the selection by Vararuci of Māhārāṣṭrī, Māgadhi, and Śaurasenī (Paiśācī may be added) as the principal Prākṛit dialects argues for the development in these particular localities of a literature in Prākṛit. Bloch¹⁷ argues that the Māhā-

¹³ See Pischel, *Grammatik*, p. 41; Lassen, *Institutiones*, App. p. 40 ff.

¹⁴ *Institutiones*, pp. 395-6.

¹⁵ *Institutiones*, p. 394.

¹⁶ *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, II. 533.

¹⁷ *Vararuci und Hemacandra*, pp. 10-12.

rāṣṭrī of Vararuci was based on a well developed literature, as attested by Hala. The lost Bṛhatkathā proves that there was a literature in Paiśācī. No literature has been preserved in Śaurasenī and Māgadhī, but the traditions concerning the old Buddhist books prove that there was a literature in Māgadhī at least. Yet it is doubtful to me whether Vararuci intended to describe Paiśācī and Māgadhī as languages actually spoken and possessing a large literature. It is likely that spoken and literary Paiśācī and Māgadhī would have differed from Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī to a much greater degree than the few rules given by Vararuci would indicate. He seems to give only a few conspicuous features of the two dialects as used more or less artificially in dramas. The dialects as described by him seem already to have become stereotyped to a considerable degree. The earlier dramatists from the parts of the country with which Vararuci was familiar may have picked out only a few of the most striking features of the language of Magadha for dramatic purposes. Later grammarians who lived in distant places may have added elements which were not really characteristic of the speech of Magadha and some of their rules may be based merely on the readings of corrupted manuscripts or on later linguistic developments. Much depends on the locality in which the early dramas and grammatical works were composed, and the more or less detailed knowledge which their authors really had of the language of Magadha. It seems to me certain that the grammatical tradition and the dramatic usage of Māgadhī grew up outside of Magadha. The dialect on which the rules of Vararuci were based may possibly have belonged to a part of the country where *r* was not changed to *l*. The *rā* of Mārkaṇḍeya's rule seems to make the change of *r* to *l* only optional, but the bearing of his statement on the problem as a whole is uncertain. Until all the manuscript material which is available for the text of the grammarians has been carefully worked over the hypothesis of scribal omissions, based on the theory of a unified grammatical tradition, is hazardous. We have no reason to assume that from Vararuci on the grammatical tradition was unanimous. Pischel¹⁸ makes the very categorical statement: "Alle Grammatiker von Vr. an sind in der Hauptsache einig." Certainly this underestimates the important discrepancies between Vararuci, Hemacandra, Kra-

¹⁸ *Grammatik*, p. 23.

madiśvara, and Mārkaṇḍeya in the matter of Māgadhi. It has not been proved that there was a uniform tradition for Māgadhi which is reflected correctly in Hemacandra, and incorrectly in Vararuci because of the omission of rules in the process of manuscript copying. For example:

1. The rule for the change of *rtha* to *sta* occurs, according to Pischel (p. 200), only in Hemacandra and in Namisādhu (to Rudraṭa, *Kāvyaṭīkā* 2, 12).
2. The rule for the change of *ccha* to *śca* (p. 165) only in Hemacandra and Namisādhu.
3. The rule for the change of *śka* and *śkha* to *ska* and *skha* (p. 207) only in Hemacandra. Namisādhu gives *śka* and *śkha*.
4. The rule for the change of *ṣṭa* and *ṣṭha* to *ṣṭa* (p. 207) only in Hemacandra. Namisādhu gives *ṣṭa* and *ṣṭha*.
5. The rule for the change of *stha* to *sta* (p. 213) only in Hemacandra and Namisādhu.
6. The rules by which *ṣpa* and *ṣpha* change to *spha* and *spha* while *spha* and *spha* remain (pp. 210, 214) only in Hemacandra. Namisādhu gives *spha* and *spha*.
7. The rule for the change of *ṭṭa* to *ṣṭa* (p. 188) only in Hemacandra.¹⁹

Namisādhu was evidently a Jain like Hemacandra. His commentary was composed in 1068 A. D. according to the note on the first page of the *Kāvyaṭīkā* edition. If that is correct he is earlier than Hemacandra and Hemacandra is not personally responsible for all of these additional rules. He was following some earlier tradition current in Western India.²⁰

¹⁹ These rules are found also in Trivikrama, Simharāja, Lakṣmīdhara, Appayadikṣita and others who are directly dependent on Hemacandra. They are not found in Vararuci or in Kramadīśvara who was, in the main, independent of Hemacandra. See Zachariae *BB* 5. 26 and Pischel, *Grammatik*, p. 41. Mārkaṇḍeya is much closer to Vararuci than to Hemacandra. Namisādhu, except for *ś* in the place of *s* in the cases noted above, agrees in the main with the rules of Hemacandra. Rules 4, 12, 13, 14 of Hemacandra are omitted, but Namisādhu states that he is not giving a complete account of Māgadhi. Namisādhu and Hemacandra represent practically the same tradition. According to the *Prākṛtakalpalatikā*, as quoted by Rishikesh Sastri, *A Prakṛita Grammar*, p. 61, *s* and *ṣ* as conjunct consonants become *ś*.

²⁰ According to Peterson, *Third Report*, p. 344 the *Prākṛtacandrikā* of

For the change of *r* to *l* Pischel (p. 178) refers to Caṇḍa, Hemacandra, Kramadīśvara, Mārkaṇḍeya, Namisādhu, and Simhadevaṇi. For the change of *s* to *ś* Pischel (p. 163) refers to Vararuci, Caṇḍa, Hemacandra, Kramadīśvara, Mārkaṇḍeya, and Namisādhu. Surely there should be no talk of uniformity in connection with the list of rules given above from Hemacandra and Namisādhu. And yet Pischel (p. 200) recommends that these rules of the grammarians (*sic*) be followed for Māgadhi against all the manuscripts and against Vararuci, Kramadīśvara, and Mārkaṇḍeya. These three grammarians prove that there was a tradition very different from that followed by Hemacandra and carried on by his followers. It seems clear, as Grierson points out *JRAS* 1921. 425-6, that there was an Eastern and a Western school of Prākṛit grammarians. But in each school the individual authors differ so much in little details that there is about as much confusion among them as there is in the manuscripts of the dramas themselves.

Simhadevaṇi to Vāgbhaṭālamkāra 2.2 gives the following rules for Māgadhi:

1. The change of *r* to *l*.
2. The nominative in *e*.
3. The substitution of *hage* for *ahaṃ*.
4. The substitution of *ciṭṭha* for *tiṣṭha*.
5. The change of *ṇ* to *n*.

Further he gives *lukkha* for *rūkṣa*. This is contrary to the rule of Hemacandra. The rule for the change of *ṇ* to *n* is remarkable. It cannot be accounted for by manuscript corruption because the example *yathā taruṇasthale taluna* proves conclusively that the change of *ṇ* to *n* must be meant. According to the grammarians the change of *ṇ* to *n* is characteristic of Paiśācī. Is Simhadevaṇi confusing Paiśācī with Māgadhi? He gives no rule for the change of *s* to *ś*, an extremely important rule which could hardly have been omitted even in the most superficial treatment of the Māgadhi dialect if he had regarded it as universally valid for the particular dialect which he meant to describe. The *Kāvyamālā* edition gives *esa* in an example. This is corroborative testimony, but incon-

Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita has the following: *jihvāmūliyaś ca kvacic chaurasenyādaḥ vakṣyate. takṣaḥ takko. śakāraś ca māgadhyān vakṣyate. yathā pakṣaḥ paśko. lākṣā lāśkā*. For *kṣa* in Māgadhi Vararuci gives *ska*. Hemacandra gives *ska* in the two words *prekṣ* and *ācakṣ*, elsewhere *jihvāmūliya* plus *k*. A rule for *ḥk* in Śaurasenī is found nowhere else so far as I know.

clusive without a full report of manuscript readings. Nāṇḍilla-gopa in his commentary to the Prabodhacandrodaya (Nirṇayasā-gara edition, p. 72), on the authority of Candrasena and others, apparently regards the substitution of ś for s in Māgadhi as optional. Did Siṃhadevagaṇi have the same idea in mind?

There is a strange but important statement in Rājaśekhara's Kāvya-mīmāṃsā (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. 1, pp. xxii, 50) to the effect that Śiśunāga, king of Magadha, prohibited in his harem the use of cerebrals except *n*, and of ś, ṣ, *h*, and *kṣ*. The passage reads as follows: *śrūyate hi magadheṣu śiśunāgo nāma rājā. tena duruccārān aṣṭau varṇān apāśya svāntahpura eva pravartito niyamaḥ. śakārādayaś catvāro mūrddhanyās tṛtīyavarjam ūsmānas trayas kṣakāraś ceti*. It is quite possible that even in a later period such commands of a king might affect not only the language of his harem but also that of his courtiers and of poets who composed dramas to be enacted in his palace. Such usage might even be reflected in the Prākṛit grammarians. Whether the statement is absolutely true or not makes little difference. There was such a tradition. It opens up wide possibilities, as yet unthought of, of the varieties of pronunciation which may be expected in the case of any of the Prākṛit dialects.

From Vararuci on the grammatical tradition concerning the change of *s* to ś in Māgadhi is unanimous. Some of the commentators take it as merely optional and possibly Siṃhadevagaṇi did not recognize it as universal. The Aśoka inscriptions seem to prove that the official language of Magadha in the third century B. C. had *s*, not ś. Could the prohibition of Śiśunāga, if the story is correct, have anything to do with the continuance of such usage at court, and did the popular language have ś?

Windisch,²¹ basing his conclusion on the inscriptions of Aśoka, urges that the use of ś for *s* in the dramas is a later development. If so did the prevalence of the letter ś in the language of the Śākāra, which is based on Māgadhi,²² have anything to do with the extension of ś in the later dramas and grammatical works? Gawroński,²³ who regards the ś of the Śākāra as merely an individual

²¹ *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Orientalistes*, I. 279.

²² Lassen, *Institutiones*, p. 422 ff.; Pischel, *Grammatik*, p. 24; Grierson, *JRAS* 1918. 494, 499; Gawroński, *ZVS* 44. 271-4.

²³ *ZVS* 44. 271-4.

lipping, suggests that the lipping of this character may have spread mechanically through the other Māgadhī parts of the manuscripts of the *Mṛcchakatikā*. Further, he argues against Windisch that the ś of dramatic Māgadhī is too peculiar a feature to have developed in a purely literary way.²⁴ At present no definite answer to the question can be given.

Pischel (p. 21) remarks: "Im übrigen weichen Vr. und Hc. stark von einander ab, was sich zum grössten Teile daraus erklärt, dass Hc. auch die Śaurasenī der Digambara berücksichtigt hat, deren Eigenheiten die Jaina auf die Ś. der Dramen übertragen haben, wodurch sie dieselbe trübten und auf spätere Autoren irreleitend wirkten." Is it not possible that the same bad influence may have affected Hemacandra's Māgadhī? Why insist that Hemacandra's rules for Māgadhī must be followed in all their details even against all the manuscripts and many of the grammarians? The value ascribed by Pischel to Hemacandra in the development of Prākṛit Grammar and in the usage of the dramatists is as much exaggerated as was the importance ascribed by Deussen to Śankara's *advaita* in the history of the Vedānta.

In addition to the four dialects treated by Vararuci Hemacandra treats Cūlikāpaiśācika and Apabhraṃśa. He refers also to Ārṣa, by which he means the Ardhamāgadhī of the canonical books of the Śvetāmbara Jains, but gives no rules for the constitution of that dialect because he considers it to be an independent language which follows rules of its own.²⁵

On what are the additional rules of Hemacandra based? Even if he knew the rules of Vararuci,²⁶ a matter which is not absolutely certain, he clearly made use of other sources. Pischel makes the following criticism of Hemacandra's scholarly method: "Er war ein compiler der schlimmsten art, der seine vorgänger in rücksichtslosester weise geplündert hat und dessen werke flüchtigkeiten aller art enthalten. Ihm fehlte jede spur wissenschaftlicher kritik und jede belesenheit in der literatur."²⁷ If the rules of Vararuci and of Hemacandra were based on any unified gram-

²⁴ ZVS 44. 277.

²⁵ Pischel, *Grammatik*, pp. 13-4.

²⁶ Bloch, *Vararuci und Hemacandra*, pp. 24-6; Pischel, *Grammatik*, pp. 38-9.

²⁷ *Hemacandra's Grammatik der Prakritsprachen* II, p. vi. Reiterated in *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, p. 46.

matical tradition or on any consistent usage by writers of dramas it is hard to see how such great discrepancies could have resulted. Senart²⁸ points out, for instance, that only in the Girnar inscriptions of Aśoka is the writing *ṣṭa* found. These inscriptions come from the extreme west of India. It is likely that the rule of Hemacandra by which *ṭṭa* and *ṣṭha* become *ṣṭa* (and perhaps other rules too) preserves a local peculiarity which is not to be ascribed to Māgadhī in general. Bloch points out²⁹ that Hemacandra in his treatment of Māhārāṣṭrī prescribes two Jain peculiarities, the *yaśruti* (1, 180) and the use of *n* for *ṇ* as initial (1, 229). These are not mentioned by Vararuci. There is no proof that at an early date there was any consistent dramatic usage or consistent grammatical tradition for Māgadhī. Capeller's remark³⁰ "Ich glaube nicht, dass den Dichtern für das Prākṛit so bestimmte Regeln vorschwebten wie für das Sanskrit, und auch hier stehen sie ja bekanntlich im Widerspruch mit Pāṇini" is, I think, especially true of Māgadhī.

Until we know more about the predecessors of Hemacandra, where his additional rules came from and their date, and how far particular authors really tried to follow the grammatical treatises it is surely unscholarly to follow the Māgadhī rules of Hemacandra and his followers, especially in the case of dramas like the *Prabodhacandrodaya* which antedate Hemacandra. Nor is it scholarly to follow even the simpler rules of Vararuci or some other set of rules. An author may have followed some treatise which is no longer extant or he may have had only a smattering of Prākṛit picked up from the usage in other dramas and not based strictly on any detailed set of rules. Why edit a drama by an Eastern author according to the rules of a Western grammarian?

Konow³¹ has pointed out the fact that Rājaśekhara confused Māhārāṣṭrī and Śauraseni forms, and that the manuscripts are not entirely to blame for the confusion. Mārkaṇḍeya³² remarks that when *d* is kept in Rājaśekhara the author is wrong, not the gram-

²⁸ *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi* II. 418-21. Cf. Pischel, *GGA* 1881. 1319.

²⁹ *Vararuci und Hemacandra*, p. 15.

³⁰ Edition of the *Śakuntalā*, p. xvii.

³¹ Edition of the *Karpūramañjari*, pp. 202 ff. Cf. Pischel, *Grammatik*, pp. 21-2.

³² Grierson, *JRAS* 1917, 826.

marian. So too Somadeva, in the *Lalitavigraharājanāṭaka*, often confuses the dialects even though his Māgadhi does conform closely to the rules of Namisādhu and of Hemacandra. In the use of ś instead of s in consonant groups he agrees with Namisādhu, not with Hemacandra.³³ Here there can be no question of manuscript corruption and the stone-cutter cannot be responsible for all the mistakes. There was doubtless the same inconsistency to an even greater degree in many other and earlier dramas. All that Somadeva's use of Māgadhi proves is that he personally made an effort to follow some set of rules pretty closely. In each case the greater or less approximation of the Prākṛit dialects employed in the dramas to the theoretical grammatical norm depended on the greater or less knowledge of the author.

3. Bhāṣās and Vibhāṣās.

That Vararuci and Hemacandra intended to describe only dialects which were really distinctive is proved by the fact that they make no mention of the Vibhāṣās. Yet these are specifically referred to and briefly described by Bharata.³⁴ He is followed by Mārkaṇḍeya,³⁵ by the Prākṛtacandrikā,³⁶ by Pṛthivīdhara in the preface to the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*,³⁷ and by the Prākṛtakalpataru of Rāma-Śarman (Tarkavāgīśa),³⁸ who remarks that the Vibhāṣās cannot be called Apabhraṃśa if they are used in dramatic works.³⁹ Most of them are described in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (6.162 ff.). Daṇḍin (in the *Kāvyaadarśa*), like Vararuci and Hemacandra, does not distinguish the Bhāṣās from the Vibhāṣās. He says (1.32) that a literary work may be composed in Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṃśa, or in a mixed language. In 31 and 37 it is stated that dramas are composed in this mixed language. In 34 he describes Māhārāṣṭrī as the most important Prākṛit dialect, but in 35 says that Śaurasenī, Gauḍī, Lāṭī etc. are also used. He does not pick out Māgadhi

³³ Pischel, *Grammatik*, pp. 8-9; Konow, *GGA* 1894. 479 ff.

³⁴ *Nāṭyaśāstra* (ed. Kāvyamālā) 17. 48 ff.

³⁵ Grierson, *JRAS* 1918. 499 ff.

³⁶ Peterson, *Third Report*, pp. 346-8.

³⁷ Nirṇayasāgara edition of Śarmā Śāstrī and Parab, p. 1; Godabole's edition, p. 393.

³⁸ Lassen, *Institutiones*, pp. 20-1; Grierson, *JRAS* 1918. 496-7.

³⁹ Pischel, *Grammatik*, p. 2.

as worthy of especial mention, unless, as is likely, Gauḍī is to be taken as equivalent to Māgadhi.

Grierson (*JRAS* 1918. 489 ff.) concludes that a Vibhāsā is a corrupt form of one or more of the standard Prākṛit dialects, which is employed only in dramas, and is there allotted to some special character. Since they are not pure and standard dialects they are not treated by Vararuci and Hemacandra. But the passage of Bharata proves that they were recognized at an early date as being employed on the stage, and later grammarians like Mārkaṇḍeya incorporated an account of them into their general treatises on Prākṛit. There is naturally no detailed discussion of them in Bharata. Much latitude must have been allowed to the individual dramatist in the case of these mixed dialects. For them the dramatists, even if they did know the rules of Vararuci or of Hemacandra or of some other grammarian for the standard dialects, had no grammatical norm, or at the most only vague suggestions. We have no proof at all that such modified or mixed dialects were not employed and there is consequently no reason for standardizing all the dramatic Prākṛit to the norm of Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, and Māgadhi. Bloch ⁴⁰ and Gawroński ⁴¹ argue against Pṛthivīdhara in his efforts to prove the use of these Vibhāsās in the Mṛcchakaṭikā. Pischel ⁴² upholds him. In my opinion Bloch and Gawroński go much too far. The Vibhāsās do group themselves into two classes, those based on Māgadhi and those based on Śaurasenī, but that is no reason at all for treating them as Māgadhi and Śaurasenī. There may well be some basis of truth in Pṛthivīdhara's contention, even though his late analysis may not represent exactly the intention of the author of the play. The question cannot be answered until an exhaustive examination of all the manuscripts has been made; perhaps not even then.

Note the following passages:

Bharata 17. 46-7:

*saurasenam samāśritya bhāṣā kāryā tu nātake
athavā chandataḥ kāryā deśabhāṣā prayoktṛbhīḥ
nānādeśasamutthamā hi kāvyam bhavati nātake*

⁴⁰ *Vararuci und Hemacandra*, p. 4.

⁴¹ *ZVS* 44. 247-74.

⁴² *Grammatik*, p. 24 ff.

Daśarūpaka 2. 66 :

yaddeśam nīcapātram yat taddeśam tasya bhāṣitam

Sāhityadarpaṇa 6. 168 :

yaddeśyam nīcapātram tu taddeśyam tasya bhāṣitam

We have no reason to question these statements which depict a perfectly natural state of affairs,⁴³ or to deny that characters on the stage may have spoken local dialects which had various admixtures of the standard dialects. The older grammarians made no effort to codify and fix these local and mixed dialects. Some of the later grammarians did try to codify even these. The *argumentum ex silentio* from Vararuci and Hemacandra cannot prove that such local and mixed dialects were not used in the dramas and that the statement of Bharata is valueless.

4. *The Prākṛit Passages as Preserved in our Manuscripts.*

The Prākṛit passages of our manuscripts are much more corrupt than are the Sanskrit passages. The most superficial comparison of the different versions of the same Prākṛit passage in a number of manuscripts shows clearly the impossibility of accurately restoring the archetype in every detail. Many of the scribes had little or no knowledge of Prākṛit and could not follow the meaning of what they were copying; many had only a smattering of the most commonly used dialects Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī. There would be a natural tendency to level less familiar forms and dialects, to reduce them to the more common norms. On the other hand some scribes and commentators, who did not know Prākṛit grammar, replaced the forms they found by forms which corresponded with the particular set of rules they happened to know.

Should we base our text wholly on the manuscripts, applying to them as careful a philological criticism as possible, or should we make a uniform text based on the grammarians, or rather of some grammarian? If we choose the second alternative, should we, in the case of the Prabodhacandrodaya, follow the rules of Vararuci in the Māgadhi passages, or the very different rules of Hemacandra which are later in date than Kṛṣṇamiśra?

⁴³ Bhandarkar, *Wilson Philological Lectures*, pp. 75-8.

5. *The Māgadhī Passages in our Manuscripts.*

The only Māgadhī rules of the grammarians which are followed with any consistency at all by our manuscripts are the change of *r* to *l*, the nominative in *e*, and the substitution of *hage* for *aham*; to some extent also the rules for the change of *s* to *ś* and for the vocative in *ā*. This almost complete obliteration of the other Māgadhī rules of Vararuci and Hemacandra is regarded by Pischel⁴⁴ as the result of manuscript corruption, of the tendency on the part of copyists to substitute the more familiar Śaurasenī or Māhārāṣṭrī forms for the much rarer Māgadhī forms. The passages in Māgadhī known to Pischel were few, and with the exception of the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*, the *Mudrārākṣasa*, the *Veṇīsaṃhāra*, and the *Prabodhacandrodaya* were all short. Important additions of long passages unknown to Pischel are given here in note 44. Pischel, in the course of his book, repeatedly emphasizes his supposition that those manuscripts which sporadically preserve traces of the more recondite Māgadhī rules of the grammarians, especially those of Hemacandra, are to be regarded as good manuscripts. Such preservation of grammatical rules seems to be his chief criterion as to the goodness or badness of a manuscript.

Hillebrandt, in the preface to his edition of the *Mudrārākṣasa* (p. ii), triumphantly remarks that two or three of his South Indian manuscripts do give, in a few cases, forms which do correspond to the more recondite rules of the grammarians.⁴⁵ "Of all

⁴⁴ *Grammatik*, p. 23. Pischel gives there a list of all the passages in our dramas which seem to be in Māgadhī. The following important passages, unknown to Pischel, are to be added: Lüders, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, pp. 34-42; Bhāsa's *Pañcarātra*, p. 20 ff. (Vṛddhagopālika, Gomitraka, and other herdsmen); Bhāsa's *Kaṇabhāra*, p. 78 ff. (Indra in disguise); Bhāsa's *Pratijñāyugandharāyaṇa*, p. 41 ff. (Unmattaka); Bhāsa's *Cārudatta* (Śakāra); Bhāsa's *Bālacarita*, pp. 8 ff., 34 ff., 48 ff., 59 ff. (Nandagopa, Vṛddhagopālika, Dāmaka, the wrestlers Cāpūra and Muṣṭika, Sarvāḥ); *Mattavilāsaprahasana* (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 55), p. 24 ff. (Unmattaka); *Dharmavijaya* (edited by Gopal Narayan, Bombay), p. 50 ff. (Kroṣṭapāla and two foot-soldiers); *Moharājaparājaya* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 9), pp. 78 ff., 96 ff. (two foot-soldiers, a man, Śūnā and Māri, and fisherman behind the scenes); *Ham-miramadamardana* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 10), p. 34 ff. (Mleccha king and his minister, a spy dressed as a Turuṣka); *Subhadrādhanaṃjaya* (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 13), p. 127 ff. (herdsmen); *Tapatisaṃvaraṇa* (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 11), pp. 143 ff., 194, 203, 207.

⁴⁵ See also Hillebrandt in *Göttinger Nachrichten* 1905, 430.

MSS. only B generally gives the Māgadhi words in their characteristic shape, viz. with *ś* instead of *s*, *ṣ* : *l* instead of *r* : *hage* instead of *aham*, and the Nominative case ending in *e*, while it fails to exhibit some other more striking peculiarities. But N shows, at least once, that we have to write *gaśca*, 126, 19; B has once *āgaś-cadi*, 101, 2, and thereby we are led to suppose that the disappearance of similar forms is due to the copyists, who are always inclined to substitute more popular forms for those of rare occurrence." Moreover, one Mysore manuscript (C 858) "gives the Māgadhi in perfect accordance with the rules of the grammarians," but this manuscript is modern and the marginal addition of rules from Hemacandra proves that it has undergone a revision which brought the Māgadhi passages into accord with the rules of Hemacandra. How can we be absolutely sure that the two forms in B and N really represent the preservation of archetypal forms? They may go back only to some revised manuscript, not to the archetype. It is hazardous to generalize from them alone. "But I do not think that the same holds good with respect to another MS. of the same library, (Mys.) No. 939, written in Telugu characters and exhibiting all the characteristic features of the Māgadhi dialect to an unexpected extent." "I do not mean to say that the influence of grammatical works is quite excluded, but the fact that in one original manuscript true old Māgadhi forms do appear, seems to me at least worth being taken notice of." Hillebrandt gives no date for this manuscript, and there is no proof that it has not undergone a process of revision. What does he mean by calling it an "original manuscript"? How does he know that Hemacandra and other late grammarians really give us "true old Māgadhi forms"? That is precisely the point which needs to be proved. The very fact that the rules of Hemacandra are followed with such great regularity in this particular manuscript while all the other manuscripts in which any of the more recondite Māgadhi forms do occur show them only sporadically makes Hillebrandt's contention very doubtful to say the least.

6. *Māgadhi in the Prabodhacandrodaya.*

Of my manuscripts of this drama only two,⁴⁶ both southern,

⁴⁶ K which is number 4138 of the *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*. It dates from the second half of the

show the change of *s* to *ś*. The Madras edition, which is based on southern manuscripts, has *ś* pretty consistently in the speeches of the Digambara, but writes *s* in the speeches of the Pupil and of the Messenger. There is nothing to show how much is due to revision by the editor. K originally had only *s*, but someone deliberately went through the manuscript and revised the Māgadhi passages, correcting every Māgadhi *s* that his eye hit upon to *ś*. Some escaped, but as a proof of the mechanical nature of the process *s* in Śauraseni passages has in some cases been corrected to *ś*. Further, my manuscripts of the commentary of Subrahmaṇya⁴⁷ show that this commentator revised the Prākṛit passages to the norm of some grammarian. He frequently quotes Prākṛit rules. All those which I have been able to verify agree with the rules as given by Trivikrama and his followers. It would seem that in southern India much study was devoted to Prākṛit grammar and that the Prākṛit passages of our dramas were subjected to a thorough revision there. When so-called correct Māgadhi is found in southern manuscripts I am very suspicious of a deliberate revision. In copies made from these manuscripts by ignorant scribes a process of levelling might again take place. There are examples of such levelling in the manuscripts of Subrahmaṇya. A so-called correct old Māgadhi form is just as likely to go back only to a revised manuscript as to the archetype. It is suspected, and with good reason, that in general the later manuscripts give better Prākṛit, that is to say better from the point of view of the rules of Hemacandra and other grammarians, than do the earlier manuscripts.⁴⁸

It seems to me more than a mere coincidence that the manuscripts of the Prabodhacandrodaya show much the same phenomenon as do the manuscripts of the Mudrārākṣasa. Only a few of the southern manuscripts make even an approximation to the rules of Hemacandra and his followers, and in the case of each drama at

eighteenth century and is written in Devanāgarī. L which is also an India Office manuscript (Burnell 273). Dated Samvat 1862 and written in Telugu characters.

⁴⁷ Manuscript 4B-7-18 of the Madras Government Library (12560 of the Descriptive Catalogue). Manuscript 11a of the Mysore Government Library.

⁴⁸ Hertel ZDMG 64. 634.

least one of these manuscripts can be proved to have been revised deliberately. In the case of the Prabodhacandrodaya too a commentator systematically revised the Māgadhi to correspond to the rules of some grammarian. Recent manuscripts which are in accord with Hemacandra and his followers prove nothing. I would like to see a really old manuscript in such accord, especially one from northern India.

My manuscripts of the Prabodhacandrodaya taken as a whole do have in the Māgadhi passages in a majority of the cases *l* for *r*, the nominative in *e*, *hage* for *aham*, and occasionally the vocative in *ā*, but except in the case of two southern manuscripts (and the Madras edition) nowhere do they show the change of *s* to *ś*, and nowhere do they (including even these southern manuscripts) show any trace of the more recondite rules of Hemacandra. Occasionally *ś* is found but only as the preservation of a Sanskrit *ś*. Such mechanical preservation of Sanskrit *ś* proves nothing about Māgadhi *ś*. Śauraseni is the prevailing dialect in the Prabodhacandrodaya and there would naturally be a tendency in the course of repeated copying to supplant the more unusual Māgadhi forms by the better known and more familiar Śauraseni ones. But why should every *ś* be conformed to Śauraseni *s* by the copyists while in most cases *l* and *e* are preserved? This can hardly be due to a mere chance. Surely *l* and *e* are just as repugnant to Śauraseni as is *ś*. I cannot explain the discrepancy by any process of mere manuscript corruption. Is it scholarly to apply the rule for the change of *s* to *ś* and all the other rules of Hemacandra against the unanimous manuscript tradition? The greatest uniformity is shown in the writing of *l*. There is more hesitation in the matter of *e* and *o*. In a few places practically all the manuscripts have *o*, and *o* may be the correct reading. In most places practically all the manuscripts have *e*. Especially strong is the agreement in the case of certain words such as *ese*, *bhaṭṭake*, *lāule*, *pulise*, *elise*. In the case of the word *bhikkhuā* there is great uniformity in writing *ā*, but in the case of some other words like *mukkhā* there is uniformity in writing *a*. Such a state of affairs can hardly be explained by any mechanical process of manuscript corruption. Why should manuscript corruption be so completely successful in some places, while in many other places it failed completely to change the Māgadhi form to Śauraseni?

7. *Māgadhi in the Lalitavigharājanāṭaka.*

Much has been made of the fact that fragments of a drama preserved on stone at Ajmere⁴⁹ reflect with considerable accuracy the Māgadhi rules of the grammarians. It is uncertain whether the author knew the rules of Hemacandra or not.⁵⁰ At any rate he knew some set of rules which gave the Māgadhi in much the same form given by Hemacandra. In the treatment of *s* in consonant groups he agrees with Namisādhu, not with Hemacandra. Pischel remarks: ⁵¹ "Trotz aller Fehler sind diese Bruchstücke von grösster Wichtigkeit für die Māgadhi, die nur hier uns in einer Gestalt überliefert ist, die mit den Regeln der Grammatiker übereinstimmt." Konow says: ⁵² "Die Formen unserer Inschrift sind vor allem von dem grössten Interesse für die Māgadhi, wo bis jetzt die Verwirrung am grössten war, und sie beweisen hier unwiderleglich, das die Regeln der Grammatiker nicht aus der Luft gegriffen sind." The rules of the grammarians, to be sure, are not all based on imagination, but this inscription proves nothing concerning a unified dramatic usage in the case of Māgadhi or concerning the universal validity of the rules of the grammarians. It proves only that this particular author conformed his Māgadhi to the detailed rules of some grammarian. It does not prove that the Māgadhi passages of all our manuscripts have been fundamentally changed by a process of manuscript corruption, and that they, in the twelfth century or earlier, conformed to the rules of any of the grammarians. Each author must be judged on his own merits.

8. *Māgadhi in the Laṭakamelaka.*

In this twelfth century drama by Saṃkhaḍhara,⁵³ a Digambara monk appears on the stage (pp. 12 ff., 25 ff.). The editor used three manuscripts. He consistently writes *l*, gives *hage* for *ahan*, in some cases the vocative in *ā*, gives both *e* and *o* in the nomina-

⁴⁹ Edited by Kielhorn in *Göttinger Nachrichten* 1893, 552 ff. Cf. Pischel, *Grammatik*, p. 8.

⁵⁰ Cf. Konow, *Karpūramañjari*, p. 204; Pischel, *Grammatik*, p. 6; Gawroński, *ZVS* 44. 281.

⁵¹ *Grammatik*, p. 9.

⁵² *GGA* 1894. 481.

⁵³ See Peterson, *Second Report*, pp. 57, 122 and *Third Report*, p. 21. The drama is edited in the *Kāvyamālā* 20 (1889).

tive, but never writes *ś* and never follows any of the other rules of the grammarians. He reports no manuscript variants on these points. This edition reflects almost exactly the same state of affairs found in my manuscript of the Prabodhacandrodaya. In default of a really critical edition the evidence cannot be pressed too far.

9. *Māgadhi in the Amṛtodaya.*

On page 66 of the Kāvya-mālā edition of this drama a Jain monk appears. The editor varies between *l* and *r* (mostly *l*), gives the nominative in *e*, the genitive in *āha*, varies between *s* and *ṣ* and *ś*, and once gives *puḍḍe* for *putraḥ*, but gives no indications of the other more technical rules of the grammarians.

10. *Māgadhi in Bhāsa.*

In the Pratijñāyagandharāyaṇa and the Cārudatta the text usually has *l* and *ś* and *e*, but *s* and *o* are given occasionally. In the Bālacarita and the Pañcarātra the text has *l* and *ṣ* and *o* for the most part, but *s* and *ś* and *r* are given occasionally. In the Karpabhāra the editor gives *s* and *e* in the speeches of Indra in disguise, but varies between *r* and *l*. In the speeches of the wrestlers Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika (Bālacarita, p. 59) *l* and one locative singular in *ammi* in a verse are the only traits which distinguish the language from Śaurasenī. Printz (*Bhāsa's Prākṛit*, p. 6) decides, with some hesitation, to treat the first two groups of passages together as representing one dialect. He calls the last two groups of short speeches Ardhamāgadhi, but "nur als Notbehelf." If any reliance at all is to be placed upon the manuscripts three or four different dialects were intended. It is clearly impossible to reduce the Prākṛit of Bhāsa to the grammatical norms of Śaurasenī and Māgadhi. It seems certain that mixed dialects or Vibhāṣās were intended by the author. There is no trace of the peculiar rules of Hemacandra discussed above.

In spite of the strong evidence which has been adduced in favor of the authenticity and early date of these dramas I am not yet absolutely convinced of its validity. The arguments drawn from the Prākṛit passages by Lesný (*ZDMG* 72. 203-8), Sukthankar (*JAOS* 40. 250-9 and 42. 62-4), and Printz (*Bhāsa's Prākṛit*, pp. 5-6) are very weak. The editions are based on scanty manuscript material and all of it is southern. We need much more work on

the southern Prākṛit grammarians, on the southern manuscripts, and on the usage of southern authors before we can be certain that any particular form is really proof of an early date. I suspect that many so-called early forms were in good use in the south at a comparatively late date. Note in connection with Sukthankar's list the following "archaisms" picked from some of the later texts in the course of a casual reading: *tuvaṁ* Tapatisaṁvaraṇa 35.5, 77.2, 78.5 etc., Subhadrādhanañjaya 32.3, 83.5, 134.8, 162.3, 170.4 etc., Mattavilāsaprahasana 6.11, 19.11; *āṇi* in the neuter plural is used frequently in the Tapatisaṁvaraṇa, the Subhadrādhanañjaya, and the Mattavilāsaprahasana 16.8; *ahmām* Mattavilāsaprahasana 9.1, 19.14, 24.1 (*amhāṇaṁ* 26.3); *ahake* Tapatisaṁvaraṇa 143.2 and Subhadrādhanañjaya 134.3, 8; *gacchiya* Hammīramadamardana 34.17; *kalia* or *karia* Tapatisaṁvaraṇa 204.4 and Subhadrādhanañjaya 15.6, 80.8, 18.9, 107.3, 135.9; *kiśśa* Mattavilāsaprahasana 27.14; *āma* Tapatisaṁvaraṇa 32.4, Subhadrādhanañjaya 57.6. In the Tri-vandrum edition of the Nāgānanda (p. 111) and the Punjab University edition (p. 63) *karia* is given in place of *kadua* of Paranjape's edition (p. 29). This list could be extended greatly, I think, by a careful search of southern editions and manuscripts. Is the manuscript evidence really sufficient to prove that the forms in the so-called Bhāsa listed by Sukthankar are really "archaisms"? It seems to me that the present material is too scanty and uncertain to warrant any categorical conclusions. Note also the Māgadhi Apabhraṁśa forms in the Pañcarātra, p. 22 referred to by Printz, p. 27.

11. *Māgadhi in the Hammīramadamardana of Jayasiṁhasūri.*

This drama was written in Gujarat between Saṁvat 1276 and 1286. The edition is based on a very old palm-leaf manuscript dated Saṁvat 1286. This manuscript, if not actually the original, is so near to the original that very little manuscript corruption can have taken place.

The text (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 10) gives *hage*, but varies between *r* and *l*, *e* and *o*, and *s* and *ś*. It gives *tth* for *ṣṭha*, *kk* for *ṣk* and *kkh* for *kṣ*. Once (p. 34) it gives *sṭ* (*bhaṣṭa* for *bhaṭṭa*) and once (p. 36) *sk* for *kṣ* (*laśkijjate* for *rakṣiṣyate*). It frequently has *k* for *g*, *t* for *d*, *p* for *b* etc. These are peculiarities of Pāisāci. In the speeches of the spy it consistently gives *l* and *e*

but varies between *s* and *ś*. In some words it has *g* for *k*. Once it has the genitive plural in *āham* and once the locative singular in *ammi*. It must be remembered that the drama comes from Gujarat where Jainism and the authority of Hemacandra were strong. It is very significant that such an old manuscript of a drama by an author who lived in a part of the country where Hemacandra's influence must have been very strong does not follow the grammatical norm of Hemacandra more closely. The text merits careful study. Manuscript corruption is in this case a most improbable explanation. It seems clear to me that we have here conclusive proof that the author really intended to use mixed dialects or Vibhāṣās. His Māgadhi cannot be reduced to the norm of Hemacandra. Especially noteworthy are the traces of Paisācī in the language of the *mleccha* king Milacchrikara and of his minister Gorī Isap.

12. Māgadhi in the Moharājaparājaya of Yaśaḥpāla.

This drama (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 9) was written in Gujarat between 1229 and 1232 A. D. One of the manuscripts seems to date from the middle of the thirteenth century. As in the case of the Hammīramadamardana the manuscript is not far removed in date from the actual date of the composition of the drama. The edition has *l* and *hage*, but varies between *s* and *ś*, and between *e* and *o*. It has *tth* for *sth*, *cch* for *cch*, and *ṭṭh* for *ṣṭ* against Hemacandra, but repeatedly it gives the form *bhaṣṭake*. On p. 97 it has *hitapakam*, a form prescribed by Hemacandra (4. 310), by Mārkaṇḍeya (19. 11), and by other grammarians for Paisācī. It also has the change of *k* to *g* and of *d* to *t*. The Prākṛit of this drama too is worthy of careful study. Here too manuscript corruption is an impossible explanation.

13. Māgadhi in Some of the Other Dramas.

The Trivandrum edition of the Subhadrādhanañjaya of Kulaśekhara-varma, written in the south between the tenth and the twelfth centuries, and based entirely on southern manuscripts, gives *l*, *ś*, *ā* in the vocative, *e* in the nominative, and *ahake*. No important manuscript variants are reported and none of the recodite forms of Hemacandra and his followers are found.

The Trivandrum edition of the Mattavilāsaprahasana which was

written in the seventh century A. D. by some king of the Pallava dynasty has *ś*, *l*, *e* (sometimes *o*), but gives no indication of the other rules of Hemacandra.

The Trivandrum edition of the *Tapatisaṃvaraṇa* of Kulaśekhara-varma has *l*, *ś*, *e* and *ahake*. The other rules of Hemacandra are not followed.

14. *Māgadhi in the Quotations of Hemacandra.*

Hemacandra (4. 302) gives examples of *Māgadhi* to exemplify his rules. He quotes the *Veṇīsaṃhāra*, the *Mudrārākṣasa*, and the *Śakuntalā*.⁵⁴ Bloch remarks:⁵⁵ "Textkritisch ist der wert dieser citate äussert gering; Hem. citierte meist nur aus dem gedächtnis und fast überall, wo er von unseren hss. abweicht, sind seine lesarten die schlechtern." Pischel remarks:⁵⁶ "Hc. fand diese Eigenheiten nach 4, 302 in *Mudrār.*, *Śak.*, *Veṇī.*, wo unsere Handschriften sie nur zum kleinen Teile haben, und die Handschriften Hc.'s sogar an dieser Stelle dagegen fehlen." It is by no means certain that these quotations in Hemacandra have any decisive value for the problem now under discussion. Hemacandra may have used manuscripts, or quoted from memory from manuscripts which had already undergone more or less revision, or, as many of the commentators have done, he may have assumed that the forms which he found were wrong and may have revised them himself to fit his rules. It cannot be assumed as certain that a form as quoted by Hemacandra really represents the archetype. Even if he were right in the matter of the three dramas quoted it does not follow that his authority is to be extended to all other dramas.

15. *Māgadhi in the Fragments of Buddhist Dramas Edited by Lüders.*

Recently fragments of Buddhist dramas were discovered in Turkestan. They are dated by Lüders⁵⁷ in the first or second century A. D. Three *Prākṛit* dialects are employed. One is an

⁵⁴ Pischel, *ad loc.*

⁵⁵ *Vararuci und Hemacandra*, p. 5.

⁵⁶ *Grammatik*, p. 23.

⁵⁷ *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, Berlin, 1911. *Āsvaghoṣa* was the author of one of the dramas and may have been the author of all of them, although that has not been proved definitely. See Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 65 and *Sitzungsberichte Berl. Akad.* 1911, p. 409.

old form of Śaurasenī. The second is characterized by the change of *r* to *l*, the change of *s* to *ś*, and the nominative in *e*. Lüders names this Alt-Māgadhi. The third is characterized by the change of *r* to *l*, and by the nominative in *e*, but *s* does not change to *ś*. Lüders names this Alt-Ardhamāgadhi, and remarks (p. 40) that this dialect is very close to the dialect in which most of the Aśoka inscriptions are written. In the case of these fragments it can be no mere chance, no mere process of manuscript corruption which has brought about the consistent difference of treatment in the same manuscript. A differentiation of dialects was clearly intended by the author. Curiously enough this third dialect corresponds closely in essentials to the language of the so-called Māgadhi passages of the Prabodhacandrodaya, at least if any weight is to be laid on the consistent manuscript tradition in the case of that drama. Note especially that none of the recondite rules of Hemacandra are observed in these fragments. There is here positive proof that more than one form of Māgadhi was used in the dramas at an early date. I think that such a usage was continued in the later centuries.

16. What is Ardhamāgadhi?

1. Vararuci, who treats only the four standard dialects Māhārāṣṭrī, Paīśācī, Māgadhi, and Śaurasenī, does not mention Ardhamāgadhi.

2. Hemacandra adds to these Cūlikapaiśācika and Apabhraṃśa. But in 4. 287 he remarks that Ardhamāgadhi (by which he means Ārṣa, the language of the canonical books of the Śvetāmbara Jains) follows its own rules and not those which are given for Māgadhi. Further, in 1. 3 he remarks that in Ārṣa all the rules of his grammar are subject to exceptions and in 2. 175 says that the preceding restrictions do not apply to Ārṣa since in that dialect everything is permitted.⁵⁸ The followers of Hemacandra do not deal with Ardhamāgadhi.⁵⁹ Pischel remarks (note on Hemacandra 4. 287):

“Der name Ardhamāgadhi hat offenbar zu verschiedenen zeiten verschiedene dialecte bezeichnet.”

3. Mārkaṇḍeya 1. 5 says:

⁵⁸ Pischel, *Grammatik*, pp. 13-14.

⁵⁹ Pischel, *Grammatik*, p. 2.

*mahārāṣṭrī śaurasenī prācyūvantī ca māgadhi
iti pañcavidhā bhāṣā yuktā na punar aṣṭadhā*

and continues in the commentary *tenaiva śaurasenyā adūratve māgadhy evārdhamāgadhi ity uktatvāt. dākṣiṇātyāyās ca lakṣaṇā-karaṇāt. bāhlikyās ca rephasya latvamātreṇa bhedāt. āvantīyām evāntarbhāvāt iti bhāṣaḥ*. Ardhamāgadhi is excluded as being only a Māgadhi which is not far different from Śaurasenī and it is not reckoned among the Vibhāṣās. But evidently some writers did class it as a *bhāṣā*. In 12.38 Mārkaṇḍeya at the end of the section on Māgadhi says *śaurasenyā adūratvād iyaṃ evārdhamāgadhi*.⁶⁰ Mārkaṇḍeya's description of Ardhamāgadhi exactly fits the dialect which I think is used in the Prabodhacandrodaya.

4. Kramadīśvara has the statement⁶¹ *māhārāṣṭrīmiśrārdhamāgadhi* and Lassen (pp. 393, 401) reports from a bad manuscript a brief passage dealing with Ardhamāgadhi. If this jumbled passage of rules and examples really is intended as a description of Ardhamāgadhi that dialect is marked in Kramadīśvara's estimation by the following peculiarities:

1. The change of *s* and *ṣ* to *ś*.
2. The change of *r* to *l*.
3. The gerund in *dāṇi*.
4. The nominative plural in *āhu*.
5. The substitution of *hake* for *ahaṃ*.
6. The change of *ṣṭa* and *ṣṭha* to *ṭṭha*.
7. *ciṭṭhadi* for *tiṣṭhati*.
8. The past passive participle in *ṇiā*.
9. The optional endings *e* or *i* in the nominative singular. In the one example given *mahālāo* the ending is *o*.

⁶⁰ Pischel, *Grammatik*, p. 32 and *De Grammaticis Pracriticis*, pp. 1-2 remarks that Mārkaṇḍeya alone of the Prākṛit grammarians quotes Bharata. See 12.38 comm. For Mārkaṇḍeya's treatment of the Bhāṣās see also Grierson, *JRAS* 1918. 493-4.

⁶¹ Lassen, *Institutiones*, pp. 17, 393, 401. For Kramadīśvara and his sources see Pischel, *De Grammaticis Pracriticis*, p. 16 and *Grammatik*, p. 41; Bloch, *Vararuci und Hemacandra*, pp. 28-9; Zachariae, *BB* 5.26-7. It is by no means certain that he followed the rules of Hemacandra or even that he is later than Hemacandra. He does seem to have followed Vararuci pretty closely, but there are discrepancies which prove that he had other sources too. In his brief statement with reference to Ardhamāgadhi he is clearly independent of both Vararuci and Hemacandra since neither describes that dialect.

At any rate by Ardhamāgadhi he does not mean the Ārṣa of the Jains.

5. Rāmatakavāgīśa in his Prākṛtakalpataru ⁶² says that Ardhamāgadhi is not very different from Māgadhi, but in opposition to Mārkaṇḍeya he classes it among the Bhāṣās as follows: Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhi, Ardhamāgadhi and Dākṣiṇātyā.

6. Peterson ⁶³ describes as follows a set of anonymous Prākṛit Sūtras: "The Prākṛitasūtra which follows is in two parts, one treating of Prākṛit generally, with the exception of the Paiśācī dialect or a Paiśāchivarjaprākṛitasūtra, the other dealing separately with the Śaurasenī dialect, Māgadhi in its two varieties, and the Paiśācī and Apabhraṃśa tongues." Is Ardhamāgadhi one of the two kinds of Māgadhi?

7. Bharata (17.48) remarks: *māgadhy avantiajā prācyā śūraseny ardhamāgadhi bāhlikā dākṣiṇātyā ca sapta bhāṣāḥ prakīrtitāḥ*.⁶⁴

8. The Sāhityadarpaṇa (6.160) names Ardhamāgadhi as a dialect spoken by certain definite characters on the stage.

9. The Prākṛtacandrikā of Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita (in Peterson, *Third Report*, p. 346) has in a corrupt passage:

*māhārāṣṭrī tathāvantī śauraseny ardhamāgadhi
bāhlikī māgadhi caivety aṣṭaitā dākṣiṇātyajāḥ.*

Pischel remarks (p. 2) that all the grammarians regarded Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhi, and Paiśācī as Prākṛit languages. Beyond that opinions differed. There was much dispute as to which dialects were to be considered as Bhāṣās, which as Vibhāṣās,⁶⁵ which as Apabhraṃśas, and which as merely mixed dialects without marked peculiarities of their own. But there is ample evidence to prove that some authorities even considered Ardhamāgadhi to be a Bhāṣā, and there is certain proof that their

⁶² Lassen, *Institutiones*, pp. 20-1. See also Muir, *OST* II. 346 and Aufrecht, *Cat. Oxon.*, p. 181.

⁶³ *Third Report*, pp. 21, 340.

⁶⁴ Quoted by Pṛthivīdhara to Mṛcchakaṭikā (ed. Śarmā Śāstrī and Parab, p. 1). Lalla Dikṣita quotes the same (Godabole's edition, p. 1).

⁶⁵ For a full account of these see Grierson, *JRAS* 1918, 489 ff.

Ardhamāgadhī did not mean the Ardhamāgadhī of the Jains. It seems to me certain that Mārkaṇḍeya and the other authors who recognize Ardhamāgadhī refer to a dialect which was employed on the stage. In spite of its exclusion by Vararuci, Hemacandra and others it may have been widely used in the dramas for certain characters.⁶⁶ All that it is allowable to infer from the grammarians is that some of them did not regard Ardhamāgadhī as a Bhāṣā, not that they denied its use in dramatic works. The fact that Mārkaṇḍeya felt it necessary to mention Ardhamāgadhī and to exclude it proves that some authorities even regarded it as a main dialect. The passage of Bharata proves that at one time it was employed in dramas. Whether the later passages which refer to it merely copy Bharata or whether we are to infer from them that even at a later date it was still employed in dramas is uncertain. I incline emphatically to the latter view. Pischel makes the mistake of assuming that the Ardhamāgadhī of the grammarians (in spite of the statement, quoted above, that the term Ardhamāgadhī referred at different times to very different dialects) must correspond exactly to the Ardhamāgadhī or Ārṣa of the canonical books of the Śvetāmbara Jains. This is certainly too narrow a view.

⁶⁶ Bloch, *Vararuci und Hemacandra*, p. 4 and Gawroński, *ZVS* 44. 247 ff. argue against Pischel, *Grammatik*, p. 24 ff. that *Prthvidhara* is wrong in his assumption that seven dialects are used in the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*. *Prthvidhara*'s somewhat confused account is as follows (Śarmā Śāstrī and Parab, p. 1): *nāṭakādaḥ bahuprakāraprākṛtaprapaṇceṣu catasra eva bhāṣāḥ prayujyante śaurasenyanantikāprācyāmāgadhyaḥ. apabhraṃśaprapaṇceṣu catasra eva bhāṣāḥ prayujyante śakāricāṇḍālīśābarīḍhakkadeśīyāḥ*. He thinks that all of these are used in the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* except *śābarī*. Then he quotes Bharata (17.48) to the effect that there are seven bhāṣās in *Prākṛit*, namely *Māgadhī*, *Avantijā*, *Prācyā*, *Śaurasenī*, *Ardhamāgadhī*, *Bāhlikā*, and *Dākṣiṇātyā*. Then he remarks that *Māhārāṣṭrī* etc. are used in *Kāvya*s and continues *apabhraṃśe śakārābhiracāṇḍālaśābaradrāviḍo-ḍrajāḥ hinā vanecarāṇām ca vibhāṣāḥ sapta kirtitāḥ* (Bharata 17.49 with slight variations). He quotes Bharata but follows the other division into four *bhāṣās* and four forms of *Apabhraṃśas*. We cannot trust the accuracy of his distribution of the dialects, but there may be a large amount of truth in his general contention, even though he schematically tries to make the passages of the drama fit the definitions of the authority which he follows. Lalla Dikṣita (Godabole's edition, p. 1) agrees verbally with *Prthvidhara*.

Hoernle remarks: ⁶⁷ “Ardhamāgadhi is described as a mixture of Māgadhi and Śaurasenī (or Māhārāṣṭrī); it follows that it must have been spoken to the west of Māgadhi, that is, in the Banāras district; it corresponds, therefore, to the Bhojpūri or the E. H. proper.” Similarly Grierson ⁶⁸ argues that Ardhamāgadhi was a local dialect spoken in the district around Allahabad where Śaurasenī and Māgadhi overlapped. Recently he has repeated the same theory much more emphatically ⁶⁹ in his statement that Ardhamāgadhi was a mixed language spoken in a district corresponding to the present Oudh, and that Eastern Hindī is descended from it. Senart emphatically denies ⁷⁰ and Pischel doubts ⁷¹ that Ardhamāgadhi was ever a local dialect. Gawroński says ⁷² that the grammarians are too schematic, that they distinguish too many dialects, but that they also deny dialects which we know existed: “So ist z. B. nach Mārkaṇḍeya Ardhamāgadhi = Māgadhi, natürlich falsch.” He makes the mistake of assuming that Mārkaṇḍeya must have mean by Ardhamāgadhi the language of the canonical books of the Śvetāmbara Jains. It is, however, clear that Mārkaṇḍeya used the word in a very different sense from that and that he referred to a mixed dialect used on the stage. His statement is perfectly correct.

It is important to note that all the inscriptions of Aśoka except those in the extreme west have *l*, *e*, and *s*.⁷³ These same features are found in one of the dialects employed in the early dramatic fragments edited by Lüders ⁷⁴ and, if I am not mistaken, in the language of the Digambara monk in the Prabodhacandrodaya.

⁶⁷ *Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*, p. xxiv. Cf. Hoernle and Grierson, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Bihārī Language*, p. 35.

⁶⁸ *Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Subdivisions of the Bihārī Language*, I. 5-6.

⁶⁹ *Linguistic Survey*, VI. 2-3; cf. also *Encyclopaedia Britannica*¹¹ XXII. 251; *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 1920, 61, 63.

⁷⁰ *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi* II. 499, 502.

⁷¹ *Grammatik*, pp. 24-5.

⁷² *ZVS* 44. 279 note, 261.

⁷³ Windisch, *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Orientalistes* I. 279, 281; Senart, *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi* II. 481.

⁷⁴ *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, p. 40. Lüders points out the similarity between the dialect of these fragments and the inscriptions of Aśoka, but (p. 42) relying on the authority of Pischel states that Ardhamāgadhi was not employed in the later dramas. I am convinced that it continued to be used.

This dialect which has *l* and *e* but uses *s* and which I would name Ardhamāgadhī in the broadest sense of the word, is spoken in the Prabodhacandrodaya by the Digambara monk, by the Messenger from Orissa, and by the Pupil of the Cārvāka. I can make no distinction between the dialects of these three characters as they are reflected in our present manuscripts. They are all heretics. We should naturally expect Śvetāmbara Jains in the dramas to speak Ardhamāgadhī in the narrow sense of the word, and possibly by a natural extension, the Digambaras and other heretics might be made to speak the same dialect. But there is no case of the use of Ardhamāgadhī in this restricted Jain sense of the word in our dramas. No Śvetāmbara Jains appear on the stage. The early literature of the Digambaras is so little known that not even a guess may be hazarded as to the approximation of its language to the Ardhamāgadhī of our dramas. May it not be that the Hindus picked out for dramatic purposes a few very noticeable characteristics of the Jain dialects and were satisfied with that as giving enough flavor to the speech of the despised heretics without trying to copy all the details of their language? How much familiarity did the writers of drama actually have with the Jain books? The language of the Jains was not treated at all by the Prākṛit grammarians. I doubt whether the dramatists made any effort at all to approximate to the language of the Jains. I am inclined to think that they merely followed an old convention that low characters should speak local or mixed dialects (Vibhāṣās) and that in the language of such low characters no effort was made to represent accurately the language of any particular locality or of any particular group such as the Jains. A few general characteristics were used to color the language.

17. *What Characters Speak Māgadhī and Ardhamāgadhī According to the Grammarians and the Treatises on Dramatic Theory?*

Bharata (17.48-9) names seven Bhāṣās and seven Vibhāṣās. Then (17.50 ff.) he gives directions for the use of these dialects. The distribution is based partly on the locality from which the character comes, partly on his occupation. Then (17.58 ff.) he continues with the statement that one should employ *e* frequently in the speech of those who live in the region between the Ganges and the ocean, *n* frequently in the speech of those who live in the

region between the Vindhya and the ocean, *c* frequently in the speech of those who live in Surāṣṭra, Avanti, Vetravatī, and the North, *u* frequently in the speech of those who live in the Himalayas, in Sindh, and in Sauvīra, *t* in the speech of those who live in Arbuda and on the banks of the river Carmanvatī. What is the meaning of this curious passage? Pischel, *Grammatik*, p. 24 gives it up with the statement "damit ist nichts anzufangen."

The Daśarūpaka (2. 66) and the Sāhityadarpaṇa (6. 168) repeat the statement of Bharata (17. 46-7) that characters should be made to speak the language of the part of the country from which they come. It is impossible at present to estimate the exact value of these statements, but it seems to me that they represent a perfectly natural state of affairs and that they are not based on purely artificial speculation. Why press the rules of Vararuci, Hemacandra and other grammarians and discard entirely the statements of those writers who deal directly and in detail with the theory and practice of the drama? Why must each of the Prākṛit dialects be regarded as rigidly uniform? There were doubtless many varieties of Māgadhi, Śaurasenī, and Paiśācī. It was only the weight of some authority and tradition political, religious or grammatical which could lead to a greater standardization of dialect as in the case of Pāli and the Jain dialects. Eventually the loose dialects used on the early stage were standardized in somewhat different ways by different grammarians. The later writers would naturally use fewer dialects and be more consistent in their treatment of them, but even for the later dramatists there can be no talk of absolute uniformity.

Muir's remark:⁷⁵ "The rules here given are quite artificial, as it would be absurd to suppose that different classes of persons living in the same locality, as most of the dramatic persons would do, could each speak different dialects, and that, too, dialects of other and perhaps distant provinces" is far from the mark. Probably in most dramas only one or two dialects would be used, but in such dramas as did bring onto the stage men from other localities or men from lower walks of life it is perfectly natural to suppose that their speech would be differentiated in some way. There is no need to assume a complete copying of the speech of other and distant localities. As Bharata suggests even the use of a single letter

⁷⁵ *Original Sanskrit Texts* II. 51.

would be enough to suggest a strange dialect and to impart an individual flavor. Further, in the large cities where the dramas were produced there would naturally be men from many different parts of the country. City life in ancient India was much more cosmopolitan than is usually assumed. Moreover the minor dialects used on the stage were practically uniform in grammatical structure and vocabulary. They are, on the whole, differentiated merely by differences of pronunciation of single letters or groups of letters.

As to the use of Māgadhi and Ardhamāgadhi Bharata (17. 50) has:

māgadhi tu narendrānām antaḥpuranivāsinām ⁷⁶
ceṭānām rājaputrānām śreṣṭhīnām cārdhamāgadhi.

Daśarūpaka (2. 65) has:

piśācātyantanīcādaḥ piśācam māgadham tathā.

Sāhityadarpaṇa (6. 160) has:

atroktā māgadhi bhāṣā rājāntaḥpuracāriṇām
ceṭānām rājaputrānām śreṣṭhīnām cārdhamāgadhi. ⁷⁷

Kohala *apud* Mārkaṇḍeya (12. 1) says that Māgadhi is spoken by Rākṣasas, Bhikṣus, Kṣapaṇakas, Servants etc. ⁷⁸

Mārkaṇḍeya (12. 38 commentary) remarks *rākṣasīśreṣṭhiceṭānu-karmyāder ardhamāgadhiḥ bharataḥ*. I cannot find the quotation in Bharata.

The Prākṛtacandrikā (Peterson, *Third Report*, p. 348) has:

māgadhi rākṣasādīnām antaḥpuranivāsinām
ceṭānām rājaputrānām śreṣṭhīnām cārdhamāgadhi.

The Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa (2. 9) has:

⁷⁶ For definitions of "those who live in the women's apartments" see Pischel, *Grammatik*, p. 22.

⁷⁷ The commentator (Nirṇayasāgara Press edition, p. 316) has: *ata evānargharāghavādaḥ rājaputrasyāpi rāmacandrāder uttamakāryakāritena saṃskṛtenaiva cyatahāro varṇitaḥ, na tv ardhamāgadhyā*. The Prākṛtacandrikā (Peterson, *Third Report*, p. 348) has a stanza very similar to those of Bharata and the Sāhityadarpaṇa.

⁷⁸ See Pischel, *Grammatik*, p. 22. For Kohala see Pischel, *Grammatik*, pp. 32-3; Weber, *Indische Studien* 8. 273 and *Indische Streifen* 2. 59.

*devādyāḥ saṁskṛtaṁ prāhuḥ prākṛtaṁ kinnarādayaḥ
paiśācādyāṁ piśācādyā māgadhaṁ hīnajātayaḥ.*⁷⁹

The *Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā* of Lakṣmīdhara (Bombay Sanskrit Series edition, p. 5) has:

*chadmaliṅgavatām tadvaj jainānām iti kecane
adhame madhyame vāpi śaurasenī prayujyate
dhīvarādyatinīceṣu māgadhi viniyujyate
rakṣaḥpiśācanīceṣu paiśācīdvitayaṁ bhavet
apabhraṁśas tu caṇḍālayavanādīṣu yujyate
nāṭakādāv apabhraṁśavinyāsasyāsahīṣṇavaḥ
anye caṇḍālakādīnām māgadhyādi prayuñjate
sarveṣāṁ kārāṇavaśāt kāryo bhāṣavyatikramah*

The *Prākṛtamaṇidīpa* of Appayyadīkṣita (copy of Mysore manuscript, p. 40 b) describes Māgadhi as *kirātādīnikṛṣṭajātīprajyā bhāṣā*.

The *Rasārṇavasudhākara* (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 50. 299) quotes the same stanzas given above from the *Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā*.

Rāmadāsa in his commentary to the *Prabodhacandrodaya* says:⁸⁰
*bhikṣukṣapaṇakārākṣasāntaḥpuravāsiceṭakādīnām māgadhitī uk-
tam anyatra.*

In some authorities a gradual schematization seems to have taken place by which *Ardhamāgadhi* was excluded from the dramas, and by which *Māgadhi* was definitely prescribed for all characters of low rank. This can hardly reflect the original usage. It bears all the marks of a later schematic simplification.

In some authorities the idea of *Ardhamāgadhi* and of other local and mixed dialects persisted. Most dramas doubtless employed only the three main dialects and the use of these was more and more conventionalized according to the rank of the characters, but it is very probable that many of the old dramas and some of the later ones did make use of local and mixed dialects. We must judge each writer on his own merits, and in default of other evi-

⁷⁹ *Kāvyamālā* edition. Cf. Pischel, *Grammatik*, p. 23. In an example of *Māgadhi* given to 2. 17 *l*, *e*, and *ś* are printed. The same stanza concerning the use of the dialects is given in the *Alaṁkāraśekhara* (*Kāvyamālā* edition, p. 5) with slight variation.

⁸⁰ *Nirṇayasāgara* Press edition, p. 100. Exactly the same quotation is given by Gaṇeśa in his commentary on the same play (Harvard manuscript 1784, folio 21 recto).

dence the criterion must not be Hemacandra but the manuscripts of each particular drama even though a process of levelling may have taken place in them. Each commentator of course, if he made any pretence to erudition, would try to make the dialects fit into the norm of the technical books on dramatic theory which he himself happened to know. The authority of the late commentators can be of little value for an estimation of the original usage of the author himself.

Bharata gives no definite statement as to the dialect to be employed in the case of Buddhist and Jain monks. He has only (17. 34-5):

*vyājaliṅgapratīṣṭhānām śramaṇānām tapasvinām
bhikṣucakravaraṇānām prākṛtaṁ samprajayet.*

But later in his more detailed description of the Bhāṣās and Vibhāṣās he makes no mention of these characters and gives no directions concerning the particular dialect which they are to speak. Kohala prescribes Māgadhī for Buddhist and Jain monks. Rāmadāsa and the Saḍbhāṣācandrikā also find some authority for Māgadhī as the dialect to be used by Jain monks. In the Prabodhacandrodaya the Jain monk, the pupil of the Cārvāka and the messenger from Orissa speak Prākṛit while the Buddhist monk, the Cārvāka and the Kāpālīka speak Sanskrit; in the Laṭakamelaka the Digambara speaks Prākṛit; in the Mattavilāsaprahasana the Kapālī speaks Sanskrit and the Buddhist monk speaks Prākṛit; in the Moharājaparājaya the Kāpālīka and the Nāstika speak Prākṛit; in the Amṛtodaya the Buddhamārga speaks Sanskrit while the Arhatsiddhānta and the Mahāvratākāpālīka speak Prākṛit; in the Mṛcchakatikā the Bhikṣu speaks Prākṛit; in the Mudrārākṣasa the Kṣapaṇaka speaks Prākṛit; in the Vidyāpariṇaya (which is all in Sanskrit) the Lokāyatasiddhānta, the Buddhist System, the Vivasanasiddhānta, and the Somasiddhānta speak Sanskrit. In all cases the Prākṛit is Māgadhī or some form of Māgadhī.

18. *The Dialects of the Prabodhacandrodaya According to the Commentators on that Drama.*

So far as my manuscripts go I can make no clear distinction between the language of the Jain monk and that of the Messenger from Orissa and the Pupil of the Cārvāka. Subrahmaṇya remarks

that the Cārvāka speaks Sanskrit while his pupil speaks Prākṛit because, as compared to his pupil, the Cārvāka is of higher rank. In support of this assertion he quotes from the Sāhityadarpaṇa as follows:

*guṇapradhānabhāvena samājo yadi nīcayoḥ
pradhānaḥ saṃskṛtaṃ brūyāt prākṛtaṃ tv itaro vadet.*

I have not been able to find this quotation in the text of the Sāhityadarpaṇa. It is curious that the heretic Buddhist and the heretic Kāpālika both speak Sanskrit. Surely the Kāpālika could not have been regarded as a higher character than the Digambara Jain and have been made to speak Sanskrit for that reason. Clearly Kṛṣṇamiśra was not following rigorously the rule of some authorities that all low characters should be made to speak Māgadhī. During the later period of Buddhism in India the Buddhists used Sanskrit in their literature. Is that the reason for making the Buddhist monk speak Sanskrit? What language did the Kāpālikas employ? Was it also Sanskrit and is that the reason for making the Kāpālika speak Sanskrit? Was the Jain monk made to speak Ardhamāgadhī because one of the Jain languages was a form of Ardhamāgadhī? Is the author really following some scheme based on the languages actually used by the sects in question?

Nāṇḍillagopa ⁸¹ says that the language of the Pupil of the Cārvāka is Māgadhī and continues: *eso palamapulīssa ity atra puṃselataḥ iti sūtreṇa ekāraḥ. puṃsyelataḥ. māgadhyām bhāṣāyām puṃsi puṃliṅge ataḥ akārasya et ekārādeśo bhavatīti litvābhityām yady api śeḥ śantisūtreṇa māgadhyām bhāṣāyām śakārādeśe prāpte pulli śabde iti prāptau māgadhyām śaurasenīvad iti śakārādeśasya vikalpa iti candrasenādaya āhur iti na doṣaḥ. ro laḥ iti sūtreṇa māgadhyām rasya lakārādeśa iti rūpasiddhiḥ. evam uttaratra māgadhibhāṣāyām vijñeyam.* No trust can be placed on the readings given by the Bombay edition, but in default of manuscripts of the commentary the passage must be taken as printed. I do not know from what author the Prākṛit rules are taken. The first one is very similar to the rule *sau puṃsyelataḥ* of Trivikrama and his followers. The rule *ro laḥ* is given by Kramadīśvara (Lassen, *Institutiones*, p. 393). In Trivikrama and his followers the

⁸¹ Nirṇayasāgara Press edition of the Prabodhacandrodaya, p. 72.

changes of *r* to *l* and of *s* to *ś* are given in one and the same rule. They do, however, give *ro laḥ* for Cūlikapaisācī. Nāṇḍillagopa is probably using some author who is unknown to us.

Clearly he recognizes the nominative singular masculine in *e*. *Eso* of the text must therefore be changed to *ese*. He also recognizes the change of *r* to *l*. He quotes a rule for the change of *s* to *ś*, but relying on the authority of certain grammarians who interpreted the rule *māgadhyām śaurasenīvat* to mean that the change of *s* to *ś* is merely optional in Māgadhi he apparently means to read everywhere *s* in Māgadhi of the Prabodhacandrodaya. The manuscripts which he had before him must therefore have had *s*. They corroborate the evidence of the manuscripts which I have used. He says nothing about the dialect of the Messenger from Orissa. On page 100 he says that the first part of the speech of the Digambara monk is Māgadhi, but on page 102 he states that the stanza at the end of the same speech is Paisācī. He continues *no ṇaṇoḥ paisācyām iti sūtreṇa nakārasya ṇakārādeśo bhavati. śeṣam māgadhivat*. This seems to be corrupt for Vararuci, Hemacandra, Trivikrama, Siṃharāja, Lakṣmīdhara, and Mārkaṇḍeya give as characteristic of Paisācī the change of *ṇ* to *n*. What of the other rules of the grammarians for Paisācī? Nāṇḍillagopa seems to imply that this change alone differentiates Paisācī from Māgadhi. Some of the later commentators seem to have taken the most surprising liberties with the rules of the grammarians. Was this due to the fact that they felt that they must pay some attention to the text which they found before them in the manuscripts, that they hesitated to make wholesale changes in order to bring it into agreement with the grammarians and so forced the rules of the grammarians into agreement with the manuscripts? On the other hand some of the commentators did so revise the text and did try to bring it into agreement with the rules of the grammarians.

Rāmadāsa ⁶² says that the Digambara monk speaks Māgadhi and

⁶² Nirṇayasāgara Press edition, p. 100. Pischel, *Grammatik*, p. 16 quotes only Rāmadāsa of the commentators on the Prabodhacandrodaya in corroboration of his opinion that the dialect of the Digambara is Māgadhi. The authority of Rāmadāsa is no greater than that of the other commentators and as Nāṇḍillagopa's attitude towards Māgadhi in the matter of *s* and *ś* shows the mere statement of a commentator that a dialect is Māgadhi means little.

continues: *bhikṣukṣapaṇakarākṣasāntaḥpuravāsicetaḥkādīnām māgadhīty uktam anyatra.*

Maheśvara ⁸³ regards all three dialects as Paisācī, but gives no details.

Ganeśa ⁸⁴ that the Digambara speaks Māgadhī and gives the same quotation which is given by Rāmadāsa. He says nothing about the dialect of the Pupil and of the Messenger.

Rucika ⁸⁵ (folio 38 recto) says that the speech of the Pupil is Paisācīkī. He continues: *eśe eṣaḥ. ata sor idetau puṁsīty etvam. ṣaśo sa iti śakāraḥ. puliśatthe puruṣārthaḥ. puruṣe ror nityam (?) itvam iti ukārasyākāraḥ.* He recognizes the change of *r* to *l*, the change of *s* to *ś*, and the nominative in *e* in his Paisācīkī, but changes *rth* to *tth*. On folio 39 recto he calls the speech of the Messenger *paiśācīkī* (*lekhahastasya nīcapātravāt*). Then he quotes from the Prākṛtamuktāvalī, but the text is so uncertain that I refrain from trying to reproduce it. Apparently he thinks that this particular dialect is that of Oḍradeśa, an easy guess since the Messenger comes from Orissa. He reads *hakke*, gives a rule for *smi* and rules for the formation of *bhaṭṭakehim*. Folio 53 verso he remarks of a speech of the Digambara monk *paiśācīm bhāṣām*. Folio 51 verso he gives the form *satthagadam* in his Paisācī. The *s* is probably to be corrected to *ś* in agreement with the rule which he gave above.

Subrahmanya (46a) says of the speech of the Pupil *atinīcapātravād asya māgadhī bhāṣā. cārvākasya nīcatve 'pi śiṣyāpekṣayā pradhānatvena saṁskṛtam*. He recognizes the change of *r* to *l*, the change of *s* to *ś*, and the nominative in *e*, but remarks *bhāṣā-vyatyena vā bāhulakatvena vā jayadyām ya iti māgadhasūtreṇa yakārābhāve dyayyaryām ja iti dyasya jah*. Apparently he thinks that the Messenger speaks Māgadhī (48) to judge by a rule which he gives for *hage* which corresponds with Simharāja 19. 14. On p. 59 he says that the Digambara speaks Māgadhī. He knew the convention that very low characters should be made to speak Māgadhī. For Māgadhī he follows some adherent of Trivikrama and applies the rules consistently except for the change of *j* to *y*.

⁸³ Calcutta edition of Vidyāsāgara, pp. 36, 39, 55.

⁸⁴ Harvard manuscript 1784, folio 21 recto.

⁸⁵ No. 66 of the *List of Selected Sanskrit Manuscripts from the Nepal Durbar Library sent to Oxford*. No. 56 of the new numbering.

Does this divergence and hesitation of the commentators go back to the statement of the Daśarūpaka (2. 60) that persons of especially low rank should be made to speak Paiśācī or Māgadhi? Only Nāṇḍillagopa actually quotes one rule for Paiśācī, but implies clearly that in his opinion this one rule was the only one which differentiated Paiśācī from Māgadhi. Rucika seems to give Māgadhi rules even though he calls the dialect Paiśācī. The commentators' conception of the difference between Paiśācī and Māgadhi must have been very hazy and very little importance is to be attached to their statements, but the strong tendency on their part to see Paiśācī in the dramas is important. Important also is the fact that Nāṇḍillagopa regards as optionally permissible in Māgadhi. I can interpret this only on the ground that he found the manuscript tradition strongly in favor of *s*. No certain Paiśācī passages are found in our dramas, at least none which correspond in detail with the rules of the grammarians. However the Moharājaparājaya and the Hammīramadamardana do have passages which show traces of Paiśācī elements. Were Paiśācī dialects really used in the dramas and must we revise our notions as to the character of such dramatic Paiśācī? Why did Vararuci devote attention to Paiśācī. Did he regard it as a literary language but one which was not employed in dramas? Several good authorities prescribe its use in the drama. Was it once present in them and has it since been levelled to the norm of Māgadhi? Or did the commentators merely follow the statement of the Daśarūpaka and take advantage of its option to read Paiśācī into the dramas? I am inclined to think that Paiśācī or at least dialects with some Paiśācī elements in them were used freely in the dramas. Note the curious passage of the Prākṛtakalpataru quoted by Lassen (Appendix, p. 6): *mataṁ māgadhaṁ nāma paiśācikaṁ yadā māga-dhānāṁ jāyeta bhāṣā. atha brāvaḍaṁ nāma paiśācikaṁ tatpadānāṁ yadā saṁskṛtair miśraṇā syāt.*

19. *The Manuscripts Versus the Grammarians.*

Bloch⁸⁶ after a careful study of Vararuci and Hemacandra laid down the following principles. 1. The Prākṛit grammarians are of value to us only because of the fact that we do not have manu-

⁸⁶ *Vararuci und Hemacandra*, p. 48.

scripts of the dramas from so old a date. 2. The only control for the correctness of their statements is furnished by the manuscripts. 3. Any statement in them which is at variance with the evidence of our manuscripts is to be regarded as false until it is confirmed by good manuscripts. 4. Das *argumentum ex silentio* gilt bei keinem Pkt.-grammatiker. Pischel, in his monumental *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, took the sharpest exception to these conclusions and since that time many editors have followed his authority in restoring everywhere a Normal-Prākṛit strictly in accordance with the grammarians (chiefly Hemacandra), even against the evidence of all the manuscripts. Pischel made a very careful study of the grammarians but only a superficial study of the manuscripts themselves. Only a few of the older and better manuscripts have been carefully collated and fully reported in critical editions. It is premature to set up such drastic rules until all the good manuscripts have been studied carefully. Pischel expressed himself as follows (p. 23): "Und doch kann es keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass diese, wie alle andern Regeln der Grammatiker, gegen die Handschriften durchzuführen ist;" and (p. 46) "Nicht die Grammatiker sind nach den Handschriften sondern die Handschriften nach den Grammatikern zu verbessern." Compare Hillebrandt (*Mudrārākṣasa*, pp. ii-iii): "At all events, by following the manuscripts and their varying practice, we are constantly troubled by the feeling of inconsistency." But is the only object of the editor that of getting a consistent text? Surely the "feeling of inconsistency" should not trouble the scholar who is chiefly interested in tracing the linguistic development of the language and the process of the grammatical elaboration of the rules of the grammarians. If we proceed as Hillebrandt does when he makes the following statement: "For this reason it will not be considered too bold to restore the Māgadhi dialect throughout even where the manuscripts fail to guide us," if we consistently follow Hemacandra, and ignore the manuscripts or place their readings in a footnote or appendix, we tend to obscure all the scholarly problems and to perpetuate a most doubtful generalization. The manuscripts are bad and require the most careful criticism, but on the other hand many of the grammatical rules are clearly based on generalizations which never were valid for all the writers of Sanskrit dramas. I agree emphatically with the statement of Wind-

isch: ⁸⁷ "eine rücksichtslose Regelung der Texte nach diesen Angaben der Grammatiker wäre auch sehr bedenklich, würde wohl zu einer Grammatikerrezension von zweifelhaftem Werte führen, aber schwerlich zu einem Texte, der dem des Dichters nahe käme." Each author must be judged on his own merits and for that the manuscripts are the only safe criterion, not the grammarians. Some authors may really have followed the rules of the grammarians for Māgadhī and for the Vibhāṣās, but that fact can be determined only from the manuscripts.

The evidence which is available to prove that during the later period there was much learned revision of the Prākṛit passages of our manuscripts of the dramas, especially in southern India, should make us careful in our treatment of the Normal-Prākṛit found in such manuscripts. There were many works on Prākṛit grammar now known to us only by name or by quotations in commentaries. If we judge these on the basis of the treatises known to us they did not agree in all details and did not represent a uniform tradition. Each commentator treated the text according to the particular set of rules which he himself knew. Some did violence to the grammarians in favor of the manuscript text which they found, some completely revised the text in order to make it fit the rules of the grammarians. There is no certainty that such normalized forms in the text or in the commentaries really represent the forms of the archetype. The older the drama the more I hesitate to follow the grammarians. It may be impossible to restore the original text but that is no reason for having recourse to a fallacious method. Pischel's overestimation of the value of Hemacandra is quite parallel to his overestimation of the value of Yāska and Sāyaṇa for the interpretation of the Rīg Veda.

As I look over the Māgadhī passages listed by Pischel and the long additional passages given in note 44 I feel sure that they are not all to be reduced to the norm for Māgadhī demanded by Pischel. Clearly the Vibhāṣās continued to be used. There are indications of Ardhamāgadhī and of Paiśācī. I feel confident that Kṛṣṇamiśra at any rate did not use *ś*, *śca*, *ṣṭa*, *sk*, and *y*.

It seems clear from the treatment of Māgadhī in the grammarians that the dramatic and grammatical traditions had their origin and development outside of Magadha. All through the later works

⁸⁷ LC 1901. 490.

of Indian literature we find references to Magadha as a country inhabited largely by heretics and *mlecchas*. Hence the prescription of Māgadhi for characters of low rank and the comparatively few rules given for its formation. These rules cannot be intended to give a full and complete description of the language spoken in Magadha. They give only a few of its real or supposed characteristics and describe merely a conventionalized dialect used for dramatic purposes.

THE NABOPOLASSAR CHRONICLE

IRA MAURICE PRICE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE MOST IMPORTANT CHRONOLOGICAL FINDS in the realm of historical cuneiform literature are the chronicles. They fix for us the exact dates of certain events in the annals of the periods to which they belong. Practically every document of this character that has come to light has established some hitherto unknown fact.

The latest published acquisition of this kind falls within the reign of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon (625-605 B. C.) and covers the tenth to the seventeenth years of his reign (616-609 B. C.). This bit of a chronicle is found on one tablet and sheds its light in the midst of a period that has been largely veiled in mystery. Indeed, for the stretch of time from 637 B. C. down through the fall of Nineveh our information has been gathered mainly from cuneiform contracts, many of them mere fragments, from the prophets of the Old Testament, and from a galaxy of classical writers both Greek and Roman, who lived not less than 200 years later than the events they described. Thus, the last years of the Assyrian empire have been hidden behind the mists of the legendary reports of the classicists from Herodotus to Eusebius, the imprecations and denunciations of the Old Testament prophets, a few dated contract tablets, and the commutable statements of Nabonidus in his descriptions of the national conflicts of this period.

The last thirty years of the Assyrian empire have been so slightly understood that not even the succession and death of the Assyrian kings could be fixed. The last eleven or twelve years (637-626 B. C.) of Ashurbanipal, the greatest ancient royal patron of literature, are still enveloped in mystery. Even the order of his successors on the throne, and their means of securing it, have been matters of controversy. Multiple inferences, deductions and conjectures have grown up around the reign of Nabopolassar from his first to his twenty-first, or last year. But our crowning ignorance of this period was that of the international situation.

Evidently Assyria was waning. Babylon, a former province of Assyria, was longing for independence; Egypt, formerly a vassal of Assyria, cast wistful eyes towards southwestern Asia; the Medes

of the mountainous country of the North and Northeast were threatening their former invader, Assyria; and the Scythian hordes in the far north, according to Herodotus, had already made themselves feared in the countries to the south of them, and the Hebrews in Palestine were a kind of pawn between Asia and Egypt. The precise political relations of these different peoples have been an unsolved riddle.

The tablet that contains this chronicle was discovered in the British Museum by C. J. Gadd,¹ an assistant in the department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities. If complete it would consist of 75 lines of cuneiform text, devoted to eight years (616-609 B. C.) but its breaks are so considerable that they reduce its real value as a contribution to that dark period.

The Chronicle begins with the tenth year (616 B. C.) of Nabopolassar, here also called "the King of Akkad," that is, North Babylonia. This king Nabopolassar either had been assigned by the new King of Assyria to the regency of Babylon in 625 B. C. or he had ambitiously seized control of that city and province. Of the 56 or 57 contract tablets dated in Nabopolassar's reign, every one of his 21 years is mentioned except 1, 3, and 4. Only nineteen, however, give the place of the drawing up of the contract: ten were written in Babylon, six in Sippar, one in Borsippa, one in Dilbat and one in Pahlhirtu.² The earliest known date of Nabopolassar in Sippar is his twelfth year, that is 614 B. C. His sway over that city must have begun prior to that date, indicating the expansion of his realm probably before the date of the opening of the Chronicle.³

I shall not give a detailed translation of the text, but point out the trend of events as they are recorded by the chronicler.

The Chronicle as already stated opens at the tenth year of Nabopolassar (616 B. C.), and specifies that he mustered the army of Akkad in the month Iyyar, the second month (May) and marched up along the banks of the Euphrates to two Aramaean districts already named in other Assyrian annals,³ Suḥu and Ḥindanu, which willingly submitted without a stroke to a new overlord in

¹ *The Fall of Nineveh*. By C. J. Gadd. British Museum, London, England, 1923.

² Streck, M., *Assurpanipal*, p. cdxii, Leipzig, 1916.

³ Tiglathpileser I and Ashurnasirapal.

place of Assyria. Report reached the Babylonian King that the army of Assyria was in the city of Qablinu, not far distant. Nabopolassar, after nearly three months delay, attacked, defeated and routed it with its allies the Mannaeans, and took large numbers of prisoners. His victory extended to the towns of Manê, Sahîru and Balihu, from which his troops carried away great quantities of booty, many captives, and the natives' gods. The Chronicle says that in Elul (September) the King of Akkad and his army turned back, and on their way carried off the plunder of the city of Qablinu. The real reason for the return appears in the following line. "In the month of Tisri the army of Egypt and the army of Assyria marched after (=pursued) the King of Akkad as far as the city of Qablinu," but did not overtake him, for he made good his escape to Babylon.

The most startling fact here is that Egypt, over which Psammetichus I is still king, and a former vassal of Assyria, is now an ally of her former overlord, and in 616 B. C. sent an army to his support against the Babylonian rebels, and quite as likely to aid in holding back the peoples of the north whose invasions into the south might later reach the land of the Nile.

The chronicler beclouds the real result of this sudden attack of the allies by abruptly introducing a drive by the army of Akkad into territory east of the Tigris river to the city of Madanu of the district of Araphu where Nabopolassar routed an army of Assyria, —probably the Tigris division—and drove it back to the lower Zab river, captured large numbers of prisoners and animals, crossed the Tigris, and reached Babylon. At any rate the year ended with a successful campaign.

The eleventh year (615 B. C.) saw the army of Akkad striking at the Tigris region—really a safe distance from the allied armies in the Mesopotamian Northwest. Nabopolassar boldly assaulted Ashur, the ancient capital, but he could not take it. The King of Assyria (Sin-shar-ishkun) with his army relieved Ashur, and pursued the King of Akkad along the banks of the Tigris until the Babylonians took hasty refuge in the fortress of Takritain, to which the Assyrians laid siege. The chronicler relates that the pursuers raised the siege at the end of ten days, and retired after suffering greatly at the hands of the besieged, and returned to their (the Assyrians') land. The real fact appears in the next line,

that the Medes of the Northland were beginning their descent upon Assyrian territory east of the Tigris—their first mention in this document though the numerous references in classical writers would indicate that this was not their first invasion of the Assyrian empire.

In the twelfth year (614 B. C.) the Medes appeared against Nineveh. (A serious break in the text leaves only a doubtful statement). Apparently their only victory was over a small town near Nineveh. Obviously unsuccessful here, they marched down the Tigris and assaulted Ashur, and (on a broken text) seem to have captured it, making carnage of the great men and taking prisoners. Nabopolassar came to their aid but too late to share in the victory. Remnants of signs seem to indicate that King Kyaxares of the Medes and Nabopolassar met here face to face and “friendship and alliance they established together,” after which each king returned to his home-land.

In the thirteenth year (613 B. C.) Nabopolassar turned his army against the unfaithful Aramaeans of Suhu on the Euphrates, and captured two island towns in the Euphrates river, without any interference on the part of the Assyrian army, which may have been fully occupied on the Tigris.

The events of the fourteenth year (612 B. C.) are described in fifteen lines of text, not one of which is complete. And it is on this year's annals that Gadd bases his main thesis for the new date of the fall of Nineveh. Many of the lines are badly broken, and the information we have is fragmentary. Even the number fourteen, specifying the year of Nabopolassar's reign, is missing in the chronicler's text.

The importance of this year's narrative in the discussion leads me to indicate somewhat in detail its broken character. The year begins (line 38) “The King of Akkad mustered his army” (break) “the King of the Umman-Manda to meet the King of Akkad” (39) (break) “they met one with the other” (40) “The King of Akkad” (break) “and” “tar” (= [Kyaxa]res?) “he made to cross” (41) “by the bank of of the Tigris they marched” (break) (a trace only of the second syllable *li* of *e-li* = “against” and a mere trace possibly of the sign for) “Ni[neveh]” (break) “they” (42) “From the month of Sivan to the

month of Ab" (*break*) . . . (43) "A mighty assault they made upon the city, and in the month of Ab" "they made" "of the great ones." (44) "At that time Sin-shar-ishkun, King of Assyria" (*break*) (45) "The spoil of the city, beyond computation, they plundered, and" . . . (*break*) the city into a mound and a ru[in] (*break*) . . . (46) "Of Assyria before the king escaped (or feared) and the forces of the King of Akkad" (*long break*) (47) "In the month of Elul, the 20th day, Kyaxares and his army returned to his land, and the King of Akkad back" (*break*) (48) "they went to the city of Nisibis, and the prisoners and" (*break*) (49) "and of the land of Rusapu they brought to Nineveh before the face of the King of Akkad. In the month" (50) "in the city of Harran, for the sovereignty of the land of Assyria sat upon the throne. Until the month of" (51) "in Nineveh" (*break*) "from the 20th of the month" "the king" (52) "also in the month of Tisri in the city of"

These fragments of lines and text make no connected or even semi-connected narrative. Gadd had no duplicate text with which to fill the breaks. In his dismay he turned to the reports of the classical writers and the Old Testament to piece out his arguments for his thesis. By translating "Umman-Manda" in this connection, "Scythians," he finds the forces of three allies united in the assault upon the city, viz., Scythians, Medes and Babylonians. But I find no warrant in the Chronicle for such a translation of "Umman-Manda," who, in all other occurrences, seem to have been *Medes*. The name of the city upon which the assault was made is broken out, but from the subsequent narrative may have been Nineveh. At least, the fragmentary text mentions that prisoners and probably booty captured in neighboring provinces were brought before Nabopolassar in Nineveh, which could not have been reduced wholly to a mound and a ruin.

No word is found as to the fate of Sin-shar-ishkun, King of Assyria, though Gadd says (p. 13) "the end of Sin-shar-ishkun is expressly indicated." Inferentially we conclude that a part of the Assyrian army either escaped to the adjoining provinces, or fled westward, to the Euphrates region. At any rate, the chronicler states that some one representing the sovereignty of Assyria

sat on the throne in Harran, their western capital. It may be that Assyria's armies were not concentrated at any one point, but were stationed at strategic centres in the East and West.

That the fall of Nineveh occurred in 612 B. C. is an inference, and a deduction from the fragments of the text of that year and from subsequent events mentioned in the Chronicle, rather than from any direct statement. The reports of the Old Testament prophets and classical writers have no real chronological value, but are commutable, and as serviceable for locating Nineveh's fall in 606-607 as in 612 B. C.

The events of the *fifteenth year* (611 B. C.) are covered by five broken lines. Nabopolassar attempted no great campaign, probably because he was unable to face the Assyrian army of the region of the Euphrates. He is reported to have captured one minor city, Rugguliti, and to have returned (retreated?) to his own land.

The sixteenth year (610 B. C.) recites notable events. Nabopolassar led his army to northwestern Mesopotamia where he met his ally, the Umman-Manda—the Medes. With united forces they attacked the Assyrian capital of the West, Harran. Ashur-uballit, the new King of Assyria, and the army of the land (*break*) . . . “had come” “fear of the enemy fell upon them; they abandoned the city” (*break*) “they crossed”—(Euphrates?). The remaining narrative, though broken, relates that the allies captured Harran, plundered it of vast quantities of spoil, and, with the Assyrian army safely west of the Euphrates, returned to their home-lands.

The next year (seventeenth, 609 B. C.) witnesses a rejuvenation of the Assyrian power. In the spring Ashur-uballit, King of Assyria, with a great army of Egyptians, crossed the Euphrates and marched upon Harran, now held by a garrison of Nabopolassar. The broken character of the text recites that Nabopolassar came to the aid and rescue of his troops, that a battle took place, but the outcome of the clash between the armies is lost in the broken spaces of the tablet. At any rate Nabopolassar is said to have returned to his land, whether victor or vanquished we have no record to tell us.

The next year (608 B. C.) we find in the “catchline” for the succeeding tablet that Nabopolassar mustered his army for another campaign.—Here ends this Chronicle.

We can imagine the Egyptian army of Necho II, who killed Josiah on his campaign, rushing northward to the assistance of his Asiatic ally, Ashur-uballit of Assyria, against the Babylonian invaders. Doubtless the combined armies of Egypt and Assyria held their ground in northwestern Mesopotamia until the great battle of Carchemish in 605 B. C. where Nebuchadrezzar with the Babylonian army crushed the Assyrians as a political entity, while the Egyptian army with the Babylonians in pursuit escaped down the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea to their home-land.

With all its defects this Chronicle is a splendid oasis in the desert of Assyria's last years of existence, and of Babylon's beginnings as a new empire.

Its best contributions to that period are:

1. The determination of the names and the order of the last kings of the waning Assyrian empire, following Ashurbanipal (668-626 B. C.). They were (1) Ashur-etil-ilâni, ruling about four years (626-622 B. C.); (2) Sin-shar-ishkun, ruling about seven years (620-612 B. C.; both sons of Ashurbanipal); (3) Ashur-uballit, ruling about seven years (612-605 B. C.). Either just before or just after Ashur-etil-ilâni, an officer, Sin-shum-lishir, usurped the throne for a year or two.

2. Nabopolassar was not a subject of Assyria through practically his twenty-one years of reign, but was ruler of Babylon and Sippar, and was openly attacking the Assyrians at least in the tenth year (616 B. C.) after his accession to the headship of Babylon.

3. The political situation of Western Asia is shown to have been as follows: Assyria and Egypt (Assyria's former subject) were effective military allies, at least during the period of this Chronicle, in the territory of northwestern Mesopotamia. There is no evidence, however, in this document, that the Egyptian army took any part in the defense of Assyria in the Tigris region, but rather that it limited its activities to the Euphrates valley.

4. The formal alliance of the Babylonians and Medes seems to have been consummated after the fall of Ashur in 614 B. C. Their coöperation both in the Tigris and Euphrates regions was the dismay of Assyria.

5. Inferentially Nineveh and its neighboring Assyrian cities fell in 612 B. C., after which the struggle for Assyria's existence was transferred to northwestern Mesopotamia.

6. The final collapse of the Assyrian empire was not, as formerly supposed, the fall of Nineveh, but was probably the overthrow of the armies of the Egyptian and Assyrian allies at Carchemish in 605 B. C. by the same combined troops that destroyed Nineveh in 612 B. C.

It should be added further that the disclosures of this one tablet of chronicles seem to present no insoluble difficulties in the interpretation of the historical and prophetic narratives of the Old Testament, but rather to inject into them a more vivid realization of the political background of the messages that belong to the later years of the Kingdom of Judah.

A NOTE ON THE MARSH ARABS OF LOWER IRAQ

REUBEN LEVY

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

SOME FOUR YEARS AGO, while serving in the Revenue Department of the Iraq Government, I had occasion to spend six months in the marsh lands south of ancient Babylon. In the great series of swamps and shallow lakes (the best known being the Hammar Lake) that have for centuries covered many hundred square miles of once fertile land, are harboured a number of tribes who are for the sake of convenience called Marsh Arabs by us, though the Bedawin Arabs, and even town Arabs, refuse to recognise them as fellow Arabs and cognate with themselves. They call them *Ma'dân*, which is a name applied to all keepers of water-buffalo, and regard them as of very inferior stock to themselves. This attitude of the Arab is no new one, for the Arab historian has very rarely consented even to mention their name, considering them beneath the attention of serious-minded men. They live for the most part in reed huts on patches of land that just peep up above the surface of the water, and, as may be imagined, in flood time they are generally compelled to move camp and re-erect their reed huts wherever they can find any land. Their livelihood is exceedingly meagre. Any money they make is derived from the making of reed mats, and from a little cultivation of wheat, barley, rice, etc. Generally they live on rice (which is their staple), on fish, buffalo-milk, and occasional water-fowl which they trap or shoot. It is not without reason that their neighbours look upon them with scorn not unmingled with fear. Apart from their outlandish manner of life they are hardened thieves and cut-throats. In the days of the Turks their main business was piracy, holding up for blackmail any ships that were going up-stream with merchandise or passengers. Pilgrims to the Holy Cities of Nejaf and Kerbelah were treated with as little respect as government officials. Sir William Willcocks tells in one of his books how he was held up on his way to survey the site for the great dam near Hillah, that he was to build for the Turkish government. During the last war they looted indiscriminately from Turkish and British camps, and sat on the fence for a long time to see which side would win before

deciding finally that the British were in possession, for a time at any rate.

The Marsh Arabs are generally leaner, fiercer-looking, and paler than the Arabs. They are nearly all Shi'a and have occasional villages of Saiyids, known as "Mirzas," settled amongst them. These Mirzas are fanatical holy men who have come from Persia within the last hundred years or so, and have found congenial society amongst the marshmen. They still look Persian, though they have forgotten their native tongue and speak nothing but Arabic. In spite of the presence of these Mirzas amongst them, the marshmen very seldom bear Muslim names. Curious as it may seem, even the names Muḥammad and 'Ali are very rare amongst them. Many of the men bear animal names, insect names, and even names of inanimate objects. For instance: *Kulaib*, "little dog"; *Farhud*, "young camel," son of *Mughashghash* (?), "the deceived"; *Miz'al*, "one made swift," son of *Bashārah*, "evangel"; *Manshad*, "reciting," or "reciter"; *Barghash*, "fly"; *Barghūth*, "flea"; *Mizbil*, "manurer." One man, whose name was 'Ali, had a father named *Dabbūs*, or "the pin," and another, a local shaikh called *Sālim*, had a father called *Khayyūn*, "the perfidious." Another was *Shawai*, the "roaster" (?). These are not nicknames, but ordinary every-day appellations, and of a kind not ordinarily encountered amongst Arabs.

These differences between the marshmen and their neighbours, together with the fact that they are regarded as of inferior stock, are of some significance for our present purpose. There is agreement among historians that these marshes between the cities of Wasīṭ and Baṣrah were inhabited at the beginning of the Muhammadan era by a people known to the Arabs as the *Zutt*, i. e. gypsies. There is also a consistent tradition that during the wars between Yazdigird III, the last Persian king, and the newly converted Arab Muslims, a number of Indian warriors fought with the Persian army, but became Muhammadans as soon as they found the latter were victorious, and then attached themselves to the Arab armies. These Indians, it is generally maintained, were the *Zutt*, who settled in the marshes, having come originally from the marsh lands of the Indus, where they kept buffaloes, and lived in the same way as the Marsh Arabs of to-day.

It is a commonplace now among the scholars who have dealt with the question that the gypsies came from some province of

North West India. The researches of de Goeje and others show that the Zutt, who are identified with the gypsies, are the Jats, and these, according to some writers, are to be identified with the ancient Getae. "There is strong reason," says the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article on the Jats, "to believe them to be a degraded tribe of Rajputs whose Scythic origin has also been maintained."

These Jats, whose name was corrupted by the Arabs into Zutt, are, one may venture to suggest, those who wandered into Persia under the Sassanians and remained until the prospect of plunder sent them westward to attack the Arabs. The exact reason for their coming to Persia is doubtful. De Goeje, in his "*Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*," quotes first from the Persian historian Hamza of Ispahan. This tenth-century authority in his "*Annals of the kings, and prophets of the earth*,"¹ tells us that the Persian king Bahram Gūr (the Wild Ass, A. D. 420-439, son of Yazdigird I) once enacted that his employees were to work for half the day only. They were to spend the rest of their time in feasting and listening to music, and they were particularly enjoined not to neglect the music. One day he came upon a company of his men drinking in solemn silence, and when he asked the reason he was told that no musicians were to be had even for a hundred dirhams a night. He at once called for pen and ink and wrote to India for some musicians, who came in due course, to the number of 12,000 men. He dispersed these amongst the cities of his empire, where they settled down and married and became the ancestors of the Zutt.

There is also an account, given in Firdawsi's *Shahnama*, of 10,000 Indians who were invited as musicians by Bahram Gūr. But they refused to settle down and became "wanderers upon the earth, neighbours and travelling companions of the dog and the wolf, and ever upon the road for their own thievish purposes." Firdawsi calls them *Lūris*, and it is more than probable that these *Lūris* are the ancestors of the *Lūrs* who inhabit the mountainous district in the South West of Persia, *Lūristan*. The *Lūrs* and the Zutt have much in common in appearance, habits, and customs, and it is probable that they are in part of the same Jat stock. There is subsequent mention of the Zutt during and after the reign of Ma'mūn, when they terrorised lower Iraq and were only subdued

¹ Ed. Gottwaldt, 1844, pp. 54 f.

when a number of them were deported to Khaniqin by Ujaif, the general of the Caliph Mutasim, in 834 A. D.

According to Gaster in his article in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, one of the main problems with regard to the gypsies is the route by which the first wave of them moved from India. It is practically certain that they originated in India and wandered through Persia, where they did not stay long enough to add much Persian to their vocabulary. They then appear in Armenia, as is evident from traces of Armenian in the language of the European gypsies. De Goeje maintains that they had travelled via Arabia, but Gaster denies this, though he offers no alternative. The solution suggested here is that they came through the marshes of southern Iraq and then wandered north and east to Armenia, and so to Asia Minor or Rum, whence, according to Gaster, they derive the name Rom or Romany, which the European gypsies apply to themselves.

It is impossible, of course, finally to identify the Marsh Arabs with the gypsies until anthropological researches have been made there. I cannot speak of their musical capabilities, and there would seem to be no Aryan traces in the language of the marshmen, who all speak a debased form of Arabic. There is sufficient evidence, however, to make the suggestion a possible one.

THE FORTHCOMING TAMIL LEXICON

J. S. CHANDLER

KODAIKANAL, SOUTH INDIA

AT PRESENT the best Tamil dictionary is the Tamil-English Dictionary of Dr. Winslow, a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who carried on his literary work first in Ceylon, and then in Madras. It was brought out in 1862 by the American Mission Press in Madras, which still continues under the name, The Madras Diocesan Press.

Winslow's Dictionary contains 67,452 words, and is superior to any dictionary published since it came out. But it is out of print. The copyright is held by the American Ceylon Mission, of which Winslow was originally a member. For a time the Mission held a small fund for the purpose of revising the work when it should need revision. But that fund was deposited with Arbuthnot & Co. and was lost when they failed.

In 1905 the Ceylon Mission and its associates in the work of Tamil Christian literature approached the Madras Branch of the Christian Literature Society for India with reference to a revision of Winslow's Dictionary. Of course they had no money, and further they said, "We have not . . . any scholar here who could be entrusted with the work; for that we must look to India." They did ask that "the work of printing be done in Ceylon by the American Mission."

In the meantime Dr. Pope had retired from India and was issuing his series of Tamil classics from Oxford. When he learned of this movement in India it interested him greatly, for he had accumulated, as he said, "great stores of material for an exhaustive Lexicon of the Tamil language." He proposed that a competent editor be sent to Oxford to assist him in bringing out a "really useful re-issue of Dr. Winslow's book."

These movements awakened much interest in the Government of Madras, the University of Madras and individual scholars, Indian and foreign. Various suggestions were offered by scholars in India and by Dr. Pope. But in 1907 Dr. Pope died, and the whole matter hung fire until 1911. By that time Dr. Pope's materials had been brought out to Madras and deposited in the Oriental Manuscript Library by his son, and he expressed his willingness to make his father's materials available for the work of a new dictionary.

The way was thus prepared for new proposals. The writer approached the Government of Madras with his plan, and it was approved January 16, 1911. In accordance therewith a representative committee of five was appointed, one each by the Government, the University of Madras, the Madura Tamil Sangam, the Missionary body of Ceylon and the Missionary body of South India. The writer was appointed to represent the Missionary body of South India, and was also asked to devote his whole time to the editorship of the work. Deliberations as to details occupied two years, in which the Madras Government decided to entrust the work of supervision to the University of Madras. The Government allotted to the work a lakh of rupees (\$30,000), with the expectation that it would take about five years. The Syndicate of the University accepted the appointees on the Lexicon Committee, not as representatives, but as individuals, and later on modified the structure of the Committee.

Under these auspices the actual literary work commenced on the first day of January 1913. The staff has consisted of three Pandits, viz. one in Tamil, one in Sanskrit, and one in other languages, as Urdu, and Dravidian languages other than Tamil. The most important of these is the Tamil Pandit, and the learned Tamil scholar secured for this post has worked in the office from the beginning, and is still at it. His name is M. Raghavaiyengar, Vitvan of Ramnad, a Brahman with thorough training in Tamil, vigorous in body and alert in mind. Three writers, two of them typists, have recorded the work done. One of the two type-writers has a Tamil keyboard, made by Yost, the first one ever used in a public office.

The first business of the staff in 1913 was to gather materials. A library of all Tamil classic writings was purchased. Existing dictionaries were secured, and these were not few. These included: Winslow; Pope's materials, already described; Malabar-English and English-Malabar Dictionaries prepared in the 18th century by Fabricius, "Malabar" being the name for Tamil; Rottler's Dictionary, the basis of Winslow's work; Old Glossary of 58,000 words published in Jaffna; English-Tamil Dictionary of legal terms by a Madura barrister.

The MSS. of the Oriental Manuscript Library were available for examination, and the Pandits have made extensive researches in the unpublished MSS. A few such MSS. were also purchased.

Individuals and groups of individuals have contributed much

valuable material. For instance, Judge Sidney Roberts, I. C. S., being well versed in Tamil, kept a writer in every court under his personal jurisdiction to record unusual words and expressions uttered by witnesses. These were passed over to me for use in the preparation of the new Lexicon.

Dr. James E. Tracy, since deceased, gave us his Tamil Synonyms in MS.

The Port Officer at Pamban, on the Island of Rameswaram, took me in his launch to a native brig in the harbor, to which he had summoned a dozen or more of his pilots and others from the small shipping at anchor, and we went over the whole vessel recording the name of every part of the same, and its equipment.

The commander of the brig was one of two brothers, each in charge of a brig. Both were present, and they became so much interested in the work of securing materials for the Lexicon that they went home and sent me long lists of words peculiar to their caste. They were Roman Catholics of the Paravar Caste, which comprises the fishermen of the whole coast of India opposite Ceylon. They were converted through the efforts of Xavier when the Portuguese delivered them from the tyranny of the Muhammadan invaders of South India. Their vernacular is a patois of Tamil affected by nautical and Christian influences.

Dr. Winslow marked about 3,000 words in his Dictionary as "provincial," and explained the term as meaning that most of them were peculiar to Jaffna. These words were all studied by a small group of scholars in Jaffna, including Mootootamby Pillai, author of an English-Tamil dictionary, Pandit Kumarasamy Pillai, and Professor Hudson of Jaffna College, a Ceylonese. They found 97% of the words in current use, and their decision has been accepted as final in determining their place in the Lexicon.

For several years the Syndicate of the University exercised its supervision chiefly through the Tamil Lexicon Committee of five members, without involving the University in any expenditure of funds, as no funds were available for this purpose.

Funds at last became available in an interesting manner. A class of Readers had been established to train a few graduates of the University in comparative Dravidian studies, and these had completed a course under Dr. Collins, a University Professor. The class had been disbanded, and the funds thus spent were used for the work on the new Lexicon. This opportunity led to the enlarge-

ment of the Committee and the staff, and involved the continuance of the work for a longer time than five years. Had these funds been secured earlier, and a competent Sanskritist added to the staff, the revision of Sanskritic words now going on could have been maintained along with the progress of the work.

I gave nine years to the work, and in this time prepared the MS. for some 81,000 words averaging two definitions to a word. These included the whole Tamil alphabet, from the vowel *a* to the last of the Grantha letters adopted by Tamil, viz. *h*. Arrangements were also made with the Madras Diocesan Press for printing. The Syndicate kindly invited me to continue the work until it should be brought to an end, but I felt that it would not be wise to let that satisfaction entice me beyond the strength allotted to one who had passed the Psalmist's three-score years and ten.

The final revision of the MS. as sent to the press, and the reading of proof, are going on, and I have just received the final proof of the first 104 pages. The type used is pica; the pages are of quarto size, and contain two columns to the page.

The Government of Madras has given to the University the copyright.

Dr. Collins and his class of Readers have been of material assistance to this Lexicon. He was for several years a member of the Tamil Lexicon Committee. One of his Readers was an Associate Editor for some years, and when I retired he was appointed Editor. After two years he has just retired and another of the Readers succeeds him.

In 1905 the American Ceylon Mission stipulated that, if Winslow's Dictionary were revised, it should be done by an Indian assisted by a Jaffna man. The present Editor of the new Lexicon is an Indian, and a Jaffna man is appointed Additional Editor. The Madras Diocesan Press is the same Press that printed Winslow's Dictionary under the name, American Mission Press.

Tamil is the tongue of more than twenty millions of people, and it has a fine classical literature, including its own version of the Ramayanam. It has a large body of Sanskrit words adopted into it with or without change. Its administrative and governmental terms are largely Urdu. Other languages have also contributed to it and enriched it. All non-Tamil words are indicated in the Lexicon by the asterisk before each word. Derivations, quotations and other references are freely interspersed.

May the Lexicon promote the study of Tamil in America.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Persian Literature. An introduction. By REUBEN LEVY, M. A.,
Lecturer in Persian in the University of Oxford. London:
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS; New York: OXFORD UNIVERSITY
PRESS, AMERICAN BRANCH; 1923. 112 pp. Price \$1.

This is a good little book to place in the hands of anyone who wishes to have a brief outline of Persian literature from the earliest times to the present day. It forms one of the Oxford Language and Literature Series of small manuals which are being edited by the Clarendon Press under the general editorship of Mr. C. T. Onions, of the University of Oxford, where Mr. Levy is Lecturer in Persian.

As author, Mr. Levy has skilfully accomplished the task of bringing his excellent sketch of the literary output of Iran, from its beginnings, within the scope of a few more than a hundred pages, including a useful Bibliography. The famous Persian poets receive appropriate treatment, while the prose writers are brought out in their proper perspective. He is quite right, moreover, in laying stress (p. 83) on the fact that the renowned poet Jāmī is not (as is often said) 'the last great classical poet,' although justly ranking highest amongst the more recent poets of modern Persia.

In support of his justifiable contention, some welcome material has been added (pp. 86-103) with regard to the literature of 'Modern Persia,' whose poetry still shows traces of the Sūfī tinge. One might wish that space had been allowed him to elaborate the modern movements still more fully. A good point is made in this section by drawing attention to the *Ta'ziyas*, or native 'Passion Plays,' which, while religious rather than literary, represent a distinct phase of the ever-growing national feeling in Persia.

Throughout the book are scattered a goodly number of original translations to illustrate the style of the best-known Persian authors. Verse is mainly translated into prose, though a line-for-line arrangement has been adopted, so as to indicate the poetic source. Sometimes a rhymed free-verse is used. Exceptionally, as in the case of Hāfiz, both a rhymed and metrical form has been successfully employed to convey a real impression of the lyrical tone. It would have been well to have had more of these attractive

renderings that serve best to interpret the refinement in form which is one of the beauties of Persian poetry.

This slight comment is after all a compliment, and is not intended in any way to detract from the admirable service which Mr. Levy's book will perform in making better known to English readers the literature of the Land of the Nightingale and the Rose.

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

Columbia University.

Das Śrāuta-sūtra des Āpastamba, aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt von Dr. W. CALAND. 1-7 Buch. Quellen der Religions-Geschichte. Göttingen: VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT, 1921. 270 pp.

The announced purpose of this series of source books in the history of religions is to make accessible a comprehensive and reliable body of primary material for workers in that field of study. This volume is a portion of a work which will be the first translation of an entire Śrāuta-sūtra, i. e. book of instructions for the performance of certain Vedic sacrifices as conducted by specially qualified Brahman priests on behalf of the "sacrificer," commonly a rich and prominent individual, the number of priests engaged in the ceremonies varying from one to sixteen. In the Śrāuta rites three sacred fires were necessary, in contrast to the one fire in the domestic rites.

The oldest and most important parts of the Veda (in the wider sense) are the collections of hymns and formulae which accompanied the sacrificial activities, and there arose such specialization that certain priests recited only from certain collections. The text translated by Prof. Caland sets forth the use of the Veda of formulae (Yajur-Veda), and it is more interesting than others of its sort in that it quotes verses and formulae from the texts of other schools than that to which it strictly belongs. The general relationship of schools and texts is briefly and clearly set forth in the short introduction, along with the statement of some problems connected with that relationship.

A sūtra text was made to be memorized and is therefore extremely compressed; when a verse or formula is mentioned only the first word or so is ordinarily quoted: Prof. Caland's transla-

tion gives the entire quotation and further than that it expands the compressed phraseology into reasonably full modern phrases and clauses, thus becoming a sort of commentary: and further, after nearly every sūtra the translator has some lines of comment or explanation and references in modern mode to locate the quotations. Particularly important is the inclusion of apposite passages from the Brāhmaṇas; roughly speaking the Sūtra texts summarize the Brāhmaṇas.

Prof. Caland has worked for a number of years on Vedic ritual texts both as editor and commentator, and after such experience one would expect from him a well considered and carefully wrought translation: such this seems to be. There can be no question of style for Sūtra texts have no more style than stage directions or directions for knitting: the translator's task is just to make the meaning clear and that is not always possible. In this regard Prof. Caland has been duly cautious.

Sanskritists will welcome this work and find it useful; but as part of the Series in which it appears it makes a wider appeal, furnishing material for the study of sacrifice. No description of any ritual of sacrifice can compare with the Śrāuta-sūtras, and probably no ritual was ever so thoroughly wrought out as that described by them: the sacrifice had become a performance regarded as a "cosmic power of the highest potency," potent to compel inevitably the desired result, and it was even said that by the power of the sacrifice the gods had become gods. This elaborate sacrifice was of course very far from primitive and elementary sacrifice, but some of the fundamentals are still in it. Thus the propitiatory element in sacrifice will be evident to any reader of this book; certainly it is clear in the chapters which describe the offering of first-fruits and the animal sacrifice, and in connection with the latter one is reminded of features of the sacrifices performed today in the villages of India to propitiate their village deities.

Trinity College.

LEROY C. BARRET.

Lietuvių kalbos žodynas. Sudarė K. BŪGA. 1 sąsiuvinis. Kaunas [Kovno]: ŠVIETIMO MINISTERIJA, 1924. lxiv + 80 pp. \$1.20.

The first fascicle of a monumental Lithuanian dictionary, published by the Lithuanian Ministry of Education. The completed

work will comprise six or seven volumes of seven or eight hundred pages each, and will absorb practically all that is of value in previous dictionaries. It includes variant forms; dialectic distinctions; word-histories and semantic developments, with detailed citation of sources; illustrative quotations; etymologies; a chapter on accent; an account of the Baltic peoples and their languages; and an extensive bibliography.

H. H. B.

PERSONALIA

Professor MAX L. MARGOLIS, of the Dropsie College, will be Annual Professor at the School in Jerusalem for 1924-5, and has already sailed to take up his duties.

Professor EDWARD CHIERA, of the University of Pennsylvania, will be Annual Professor in charge of the School at Bagdad for 1924-5.

Dr. TRUMAN MICHELSON, of the Bureau of American Ethnology and George Washington University, has been re-elected president of the Anthropological Society of Washington, D. C.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
American Oriental Society
AT THE MEETING IN NEW YORK CITY, 1924

The annual sessions of the Society, forming its one hundred and thirty-sixth meeting, were held in New York City at Columbia University and the Jewish Theological Seminary, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Easter week, April 22, 23, 24, 1924.

The following members were present at one or more sessions:

Abbott	Hardy	Newell
Adler	Haupt	Obermann
Archer	Hewes	Ogden, C. J.
Barret	Hock	Olmstead
Barton	Hopkins	Pavry
Bates, Mrs.	Hoschander	Pelliot
Bender	Hume, R. E.	Perry
Breasted	Husik	Porter, L. C.
Brockwell	Hussey, Miss	Price
Bull	Jackson, A. V. W.	Reich
Butin	Jackson, Mrs.	Reilly
Campbell, J.	Jones, Mrs.	Rudolph, Miss
Carter	Kalmykow	Sanders, F. K.
Chandler	Kent, R. G.	Saunders, Mrs.
Chapman	Lanman	Schmidt
Chiera	Lea, J. W.	Schoff
Clay	Lhevinne	Sharenkoff
Cornuelle	Linfield	Smith, H. P.
Davidson	Malter	Solomon, E.
DeLong	Mann	Steele
Dhalla	Manning	Sturtevant
Edgerton, F.	Marcus, J.	Thacker
Edgerton, W. F.	Marcus, R.	Thompson, W. G.
Efros	Margolis, E.	Torrey
Elzas	Margolis, M. L.	Tsanoff
Ember	Martinovitch	Uhl
Enelow	Marx, A.	von der Osten
Fagnani	Matthews, I. G.	Ware
Finkelstein	Matthews, J. B.	Williams, T.
Gellot	Montgomery	Wood, H.
Gottheil	Morgenstern	Wood, I. F.
Grieve, Miss	Muss-Arnolt	Yohannan
Handy		Total, - - - 98

THE FIRST SESSION

At 11.00 a. m. on Tuesday the first session was called to order by President Cyrus Adler. The reading of the proceedings at Princeton was dispensed with as they were already in print (JOURNAL 43. 149-171): there were no corrections and they were approved.

Professor Gottheil, as Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements, presented its report in the form of a printed program. The succeeding sessions were appointed for Tuesday at 2.30 p. m., Wednesday at 9.30 a. m., Wednesday at 2.30 p. m., Thursday at 9.30 a. m., and Thursday at 2.30 p. m. It was announced that the New York Oriental Club invited the members to an informal gathering in Philosophy Hall on Tuesday evening; that the local members of this Society invited the members to a luncheon at the Columbia Faculty House on Wednesday at 1.00 o'clock; that the annual subscription dinner would be held at the Hotel Marseilles on Wednesday evening at 7.30 o'clock; and that the Jewish Theological Seminary invited the members to luncheon on Thursday at 1.00 o'clock.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

The Corresponding Secretary, Dr. C. J. Ogden, presented the following report:

In beginning this report it is appropriate to mention those events which have concerned the Society in its corporate character. Of these the chief was undoubtedly the Centenary Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, held in London on July 17 to 20, 1923. The American Oriental Society was officially represented by Dr. Abbott, Professor Breasted, Dr. Bull, Professor Clay, and Professor A. V. Williams Jackson. Professors Gottheil and Lanman, who had expected to attend, were unavoidably detained. The greetings of this Society were presented thru our delegates and also in an address of welcome written by Professor Hopkins. We were also invited to send delegates to the International Congress of the History of Religions, which met in Paris in October last; but it was not possible to find any of our members whose duties permitted them to be present. In the United States, the Society, by authorization of the Executive Committee, took part in the Conference on the Philological Sciences which was held at Cincinnati on December 31, 1923, in connection with the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Professor Roland G. Kent acted as our delegate on the Indo-Iranian side, but unfortunately we could not secure the attendance of a representative of Semitic philology.

The internal activity of the Society may be conveniently, if inexactly, measured by the statistics of the corporate membership. Forty such members were elected at the last annual meeting or by the Executive Committee subsequently, and one other was reinstated. Fourteen corporate members have died, twenty-seven have resigned, and eight have been stricken from the list, so that there is a net loss of eight for the year. This showing is not a reason for discouragement; for, in view of the unusually large accessions in 1920 and 1921, a certain reaction was inevitable, and we have done well in practically holding our own.

It will have been noticed that our losses by death were unusually severe, and a few moments may well be spent in the commemoration of our deceased members.

HON. WARREN G. HARDING, late President of the United States, who was an Honorary Associate of this Society, should not only be remembered by us as Americans, but have a special tribute of regard from Orientalists for his efforts to establish enduring peace and good will in the Far East thru the summoning of the International Conference at Washington in 1921. Elected in 1922. Died August 2, 1923.

DR. CHARLES SIMON CLERMONT-GANNEAU, an Honorary Member of our Society, had been since 1890 professor of epigraphy and Semitic antiquities at the Collège de France. He was born in 1846, and in his earlier career, from 1873 onwards, had conducted various scientific missions to Palestine and the other countries of the Eastern Mediterranean. He was recognized as a leader in Semitic archeological research, and the results of his scholarship are perpetuated in his *Études d'archéologie orientale* (2 vols., 1895-1897) and his great *Recueil d'archéologie orientale* (7 vols., 1888-1906). He was elected to membership in 1909, and died February 15, 1923, the news of his death, however, not being received until after our last annual meeting.

DR. BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLEEVE, of Baltimore, professor of Greek at the University of Virginia from 1856 to 1876, and at the Johns Hopkins University from 1876 until his retirement in 1915, founder and long the editor of the *American Journal of Philology*, was the dean of American classicists and indeed a commanding figure amid all the humanistic scholars of his generation. His achievements and character have been appraised by his co-workers; but it is appropriate here to call attention to his long connection with this Society, for over sixty years, as a token of the fraternal oneness of philologists in the wider as well as the narrower sense of the term. Elected in 1858, he had been for a decade our senior member in point of service. Died January 9, 1924.

MR. HENRY B. WITTON, of Hamilton, Ontario, was another member who, tho not personally active in the affairs of the Society, had faithfully supported its work for well-nigh forty years thru his interest in Sanskrit studies. Elected in 1885. Died in 1922.

HON. MAYER SULZBERGER, long eminent in the judiciary of Philadelphia, united broad culture with legal learning and was especially interested in the political and legal antiquities of the Jewish people, a subject on which

he had published several books. He was active in educational and philanthropic affairs and was a Vice-President of the Dropsie College. Elected in 1888. Died April 20, 1923.

Mrs. MARY H. MOORE, wife of Professor George Foot Moore of Harvard University, manifested her own interest in the work of the Society by the preparation of the Index to the first twenty volumes of the JOURNAL. In recognition of this service she was elected a life member in 1902. Died April 16, 1924.

Rev. Dr. MARTIN A. MEYER, rabbi of Temple Emanu-El in San Francisco, and lecturer in the University of California, was the first holder of the Thayer Fellowship in the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem (1901-1902) and published *A History of the City of Gaza* as his doctoral dissertation at Columbia University (1907). His later activities were centered in his pastorates and in civic and communal work. Elected in 1906. Died June 26, 1923.

Rev. Dr. FREDERICK A. VANDEBURGH, assistant pastor of the Judson Memorial Baptist Church in New York City, and lecturer in Semitics at Columbia University, took up the study of Assyriology late in life but became an effective and devoted laborer in that field. He had attended a number of our meetings and had contributed to our proceedings on several occasions. Elected in 1908. Died October 29, 1923.

Rev. FRANCIS J. PURTELL, formerly professor of Greek and Holy Scripture at St. Charles' Seminary, Overbrook, Pa., and latterly rector of the Roman Catholic parish at Ardmore, Pa., interested himself in Oriental languages and archeology both as scholar and as teacher and lecturer. Elected in 1916. Died December 11, 1923.

Rev. Dr. HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, of Nashville, Tenn., professor of Greek at Vanderbilt University since 1894, and Dean of the College of Arts and Science since 1914, was well-known also as an Orientalist thru his studies in the Old Persian language and inscriptions. More recently he had begun to investigate Middle Persian as well. Among his published works, his *Ancient Persian Lexicon* (1908) and his *Cuneiform Supplement* (1910) have been especial boons to American scholarship. He was chief editor of the *Vanderbilt Oriental Series* (9 vols.) and contributed many articles to the *American Journal of Philology* and to our JOURNAL. Elected in 1917. Died November 24, 1923.

Dr. BENZION HALPER, of Philadelphia, associate professor of cognate languages in the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, and for eight years editor of the Jewish Publication Society, had gained distinction among Jewish scholars as a philologist and as an authority upon Judaeo-Arabic literature and medieval Hebrew poetry. His zeal for learning and his productive scholarship, manifested thru his work in America during the last twelve years, make his death in the prime of life a cause of keen regret. Elected in 1919. Died March 21, 1924.

Mr. DANIEL PEIXOTTO HAYS, a descendant of the oldest Jewish families in the United States, was among the best-known members of the New York City bar and took a prominent part in social and charitable work among his coreligionists. He was also actively interested in the leading Jewish

institutions of learning as an officer and a supporter. Elected in 1920. Died November 24, 1923.

Rev. ALEXANDER D. HAIL was a missionary in Japan and was head of the Osaka Theological Training School. Elected in 1921. Died in June, 1923.

Rev. Dr. PHILIP STAFFORD MOXOM, pastor emeritus of the South Congregational Church of Springfield, Mass., had taken part in many international conferences and was an ardent promoter of the cause of world peace. A man of many and varied interests, he was widely known as preacher, lecturer, and author. A member from 1898 to 1907. Re-elected in 1921. Died August 13, 1923.

Dr. ARTHUR LINCOLN FROTHINGHAM, of Princeton, N. J., professor of archeology and related subjects at Princeton University from 1887 to 1906, and founder of the *American Journal of Archaeology*, is best known for his researches in Roman and medieval Italian archeology, recorded in his *Monuments of Christian Rome* (1908) and in other works. In his earlier career, however, he was interested in Oriental studies and particularly in Syriac literature, on which subject he wrote several monographs and contributed papers to the proceedings of this Society. A member from 1883 to 1903. Re-elected in 1923. Died July 28, 1923.

Mrs. WILFRED H. SCHOFF, of Cynwyd, Pa., had often attended the meetings of the Society in company with her husband and last year formally joined our membership. Those who were privileged to feel the influence of her gracious personality will lament that her presence is withdrawn from us. Elected in 1923. Died February 10, 1924.

Upon motion, the report of the Corresponding Secretary was accepted.

Tribute was paid to deceased members, to Basil L. Gildersleeve by Professor Haupt, to Herbert C. Tolman by Professor Jackson.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

The Treasurer, Professor J. C. Archer, presented his report and that of the Auditing Committee:

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1923

Receipts

Jan. 1, 1923	Balance	\$3,120.36
	Annual Dues.....	2,327.59
	Life Membership.....	75.00
	Interest on Bonds:	
	U. S. Liberty.....	276.25
	Lackawanna Steel.....	50.00
	Virginia Railway.....	50.00
	Minneapolis Gen. El.....	50.00
		<hr/>
		426.25

Dividend:

Chicago, R. I. & P.....	120.00	
	<hr/>	120.00
Advanced by F. Edgerton, acct. Pancha- tantra		1,500.00
Sales		751.01
Lackawanna Steel, bond paid.....		2,000.00
Interest on dep. Yale Univ.....		160.31
	<hr/>	\$10,480.52

Expenditures

Contribution to American Council of Learned Societies.....	30.55	
Adolph Holzhausen, acct. Edgerton, advance on Panchatantra.....	800.00	
Jewish Publication Society, printing vol. 43, pts. 1, 2, 3.....	1,500.00	
W. Drugulin, printing vol. 42, pts. 3, 4.	1,120.81	
W. Drugulin, printing Blake's Tagalog Grammar, on acct.....	100.00	
Honoraria, reviews:		
Hopkins	6.00	
Bender	27.00	
Ungnad	15.00	
Barton, G. A.....	9.00	
	<hr/>	57.00
Honoraria, editors:		
Edgerton	200.00	
Margolis	200.00	
	<hr/>	400.00
Printing, circulars, programs.....	50.42	
Purchase of \$3,000 U. S. Liberty Bonds	2,995.82	
J. C. Heinrichs, book Sem. Stud.....	3.00	
Expenses, Membership Com.....	6.59	
Editors	36.57	
Librarian	4.14	
Treasurer, postage, etc.....	46.06	
Secretary	110.96	
Mailing Journal.....	58.12	
Jan. 1, 1924 Balance	3,160.48	
	<hr/>	\$10,480.52

The following funds are held by the Society:

Charles W. Bradley Fund.....	\$3,000.00
Alexander I. Cotheal Fund.....	1,500.00
William Dwight Whitney Fund.....	1,000.00
Life Membership Fund.....	3,125.00
Publication Fund	78.50
	<hr/>

Total..... \$8,703.50

The foregoing funds, the interest on which is used for publication purposes, are represented in the assets of the Society held by Yale University for the Treasurer of the Society. Said assets were, on January 1st, 1924, as follows:

Cash	\$3,160.48
\$7,000 U. S. Liberty Bonds.	
1,000 Virginia Ry. bonds.	
1,000 Minneapolis Gen. Elec. bonds.	
Chicago, R. I. & P. pf'd. stock, 20 shares.	

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

We hereby certify that we have examined the account of the Treasurer of the Society, and have found the same correct, and that the foregoing account is in conformity therewith. We have also compared the entries with the vouchers and the account book as held for the Society by the Treasurer of Yale University and have found all correct.

F. W. WILLIAMS,
CHARLES C. TORREY.
Auditors.

Upon motion the reports of the Treasurer and the Auditing Committee were accepted.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

The Librarian, Professor A. T. Clay, presented his report and upon motion it was accepted:

LIST OF ACCESSIONS FOR THE YEAR 1923-24

- Abbott, J. E. The discovery of the original Devanāgarī text of the Christian Purāṇa of Thomas Stevens. [1923].
- Acrostic verses composed by ancient poets. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2466.
- Amṛtānanda Nātha. The Yoginī Hrdaya Dipikā (with text) of Amṛtānanda Nātha. Ed. with introduction by Gopi Nath Kaviraj. 1923. (The Princess of Wales Saraswati Bhavana texts. No. 7, Part 1.)
- Anandaraṅga Pillai. The diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai. Tr. from the Tamil. Ed. by H. Dodwell. v. VIII. 1922.
- Ancient times (Tr. from the English of Professor J. H. Breasted). B. E. 2466.
- Archiv für Keilschriftforschung. I. Bd., Heft 1-2. 1923.
- Asterie. Carmen in certamine poetico hoeufftiano aureo . . . praemio carmina laudata. 1921.
- Bamanji Nasarvanji Dhabhar. Descriptive catalogue of all manuscripts in the first Dastur Meherji Rana library, Navsari. Prepared by Bamanji Nasarvanji Dhabhar. 1923.
- Basset, R. Mélanges africains et orientaux. 1915.
- Baumstark, A. Geschichte der syrischen Literatur, mit Ausschluss der christlich-palästinensischen Texte. 1922.

- Bhaṭṭa Vādindra. The Rasasāra of Bhaṭṭa Vādindra. Ed. by Gopinātha Kavirāja. 1922. (The Princess of Wales Saraswati Bhavana texts. No. 5.)
- Bibliotheca Buddhica. VII, XVI, XVII (I/II, III/IV, V/VI, VII/VIII), XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI. 1913-18. 10 v.
- Boas, F. Handbook of Indian languages. Part 2. 1922. (U. S. Bureau of American ethnology. Bulletin 40.)
- Boston. Museum of fine arts. 47th Annual report for the year 1922. 1923.
- Bourquin, W. Neue Ur-Bantu-Wortstämme nebst einem Beitrag zur Erforschung der Bantu-Wurzeln. 1923. (Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen. Beiheft 5.)
- Bräunlich, E. Biṣṭām ibn Qais; ein vorislamischer Beduinenfürst und Held. 1923.
- Brandstetter, R. Wir Menschen der indonesischen Erde. III: Der Intellekt der indonesischen Rasse. 1923.
- Bushnell, David I., Jr. Villages of the Algonquin, Siouan, and Caddoan tribes west of the Mississippi. 1922. (Smithsonian institution. Bureau of American ethnology. Bulletin 77.)
- The Cambodian law on thefts. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B.E. 2465.
- Cameron, J. Osteology of the Western and Central Eskimos. 1923. (Report of the Canadian Arctic expedition, 1913-18. V. XII, part C.)
- Chicago. Art institute. A handbook of the Egyptian collection. By Thomas George Allen. [1923.]
- A collection of moral poems, composed by H. M. King Chulalongkorn. B.E. 2466.
- A collection of royal decrees of H. M. King Mongkut. Vol. II. B.E. 2465.
- A collection of tales. Vol. 1. Twelve tales from Persia. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B.E. 2465.
- A collection of voyages in poetical form. Vol. 1. Four voyages by Sunthorn Phu. B.E. 2465.
- The Coptic Theotokia. With introduction by De Lacy O'Leary. 1923.
- Cordier, H. Mélanges d'histoire et de géographie orientales. 1914-23. 4v.
- Dārāb Hormaziyār's Rivāyat. By Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unvala. 1922. 2v.
- Densmore, F. Mandan and Hidatsa music. 1923. (U. S. Bureau of American ethnology. Bulletin 80.)
- Dhanapāla. Bhavissayattakahā. By Dhanapāla. Partly ed. by C. D. Dalal and completed with introduction, notes, glossary, etc. by Pandurang Damodar Gune. 1923. (Gaekwad's Oriental series, v. XX.)
- Dickinson, H. E. Incense and the Japanese game. [1922.]
- The Dinkard; the original Pahlavi text by Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana. 1922. V. 17. 2 copies.
- Djāwā. Driemaandelyksch tydscrift organ van het Java Instituut. I. Jahrgang, no. 1; III. Jahrgang, no. 1. 1921-23.
- The Eastern Buddhist. V. 1, nos. 5-6; v. 2, no. 6. 1922-23.
- The Empire review. No. 269, June, 1923.

- Epigraphica Birmanica. V. III, pt. 1. 1923.
- Explanatory notice on the display of ancient warfare. By the committee of the military tournament for the year, B.E. 2465.
- Ferrand, G. Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais des XVe et XVIe siècles, reproduits, traduits et annotés, par Gabriel Ferrand. T. 1. 1921-23.
- France-Islam; revue mensuelle illustrée des pays de l'Orient et de l'Islam. Avril, 1923.
- [Gar-allah Abu-l-Kasim Mahmud ben Amr Al-Zamahshari Asas al Culagha. Part First. 1922.]
- Gavin, F. Some aspects of contemporary Greek orthodox thought. 1923. (The Hale lectures, 1922.)
- Genealogy of various families. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B.E. 2465.
- Ghosal, U. A history of Hindu political theories. 1923.
- Gibb, H. A. R. The Arab conquests in Central Asia. 1923. (James G. Forlong fund, v. 2.)
- Great Britain. India office. Library. Catalogue. V. II, part IV; Supplement, 1906-1920. Bengali books.
- Hätim Tilawöfi. Hatim's tales; Kashmiri stories and songs, recorded by Sir Aurel Stein. 1923. (Indian texts series.)
- Hegesias. Carmen praemio aureo ornatum in certamine poetico hoefftiano. Accedunt quattuor carmina laudata. 1922.
- Herbigny, Michel d'. L'Unité dans le Christ. 1923. (Orientalia. Series II, no. 1.)
- Hitti, P. [Al-lughât al-sâmiyyat al-muḥakayyat fi Sûriyâ wa-Libanân.] 1922.
- Holm, F. V. My Nestorian adventure in China. 1923.
- Hopfner, T. Fontes historiae religionis aegyptiacae, collegit Theodorus Hopfner. Pars II: Auctores ab Horatio usque ad Plutarchum continens. 1923. (Fontes historiae religionum ex auctoribus graecis et latinis collectos. Fasc. 2, pt. 2.)
- India. Archaeological survey. Mysore and Coorg. Epigraphia Carnatica. V. 2. (Rev. ed.) 1923.
- India. Linguistic survey. V. 11: Gipsy languages. Comp. and ed. by Sir G. A. Grierson. 1922.
- Indogermanisches Jahrbuch im Auftrag der Indo-germanischen Gesellschaft. V. 6-8. 1920-22.
- Instructions of H. M. Chulalongkorn to his sons. B.E. 2466.
- The Jâtaka. Tr. into Siamese. Vol. II. (2d ed.) B.E. 2465.
- Jeancon, J. A. Excavations in Chama Valley, New Mexico. 1923. (U. S. Bureau of American ethnology. Bulletin 81.)
- Jenness, D. Physical characteristics of the Copper Eskimos. 1923. (Report of the Canadian Arctic expedition, 1913-18. V. XII, part B.)
- Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. The religious ceremonies and customs of the Parsees. 1922.
- The K. R. Cama oriental institute. Journal. No. 1. 1922.
- Karlgren, B. Analytic dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese. 1923.

- Karsten, R. Blood revenge, war, and victory feasts among the Jibaro Indians of Eastern Ecuador. 1923. (U. S. Bureau of American ethnology. Bulletin 79.)
- Kāyagriha; or, The human body considered as a house, by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B.E. 2466.
- S. Krishnaswami Aiyanger. Some contributions of South India to Indian culture. 1923. (Calcutta university readership lectures.)
- Krom, N. J. Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst. 1923. 3 V.
- The Kuo-hsio chi-k'an; a journal of sinological studies. V. 1, Nos. 1-2. 1923.
- Letters written by H. M. King Chulalongkorn during his visit to the Northern provinces (Collections of travels, vol. 5.) B.E. 2465.
- Leuba, J. Un royaume disparu: les Chams et leur art. 1923.
- Littmann, E. Jäger und Prinzessin. Ein neuarabisches Märchen aus Jerusalem. 1922. (Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen, 150.)
- Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. The Vedāntakalpalatikā of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. Ed. by Rāmājñā Pāṇḍeya Vyākaraṇopādhyāya. 1920. (The Princess of Wales Sarasvatī Bhavana texts, No. 3.)
- Madras (Presidency) Government oriental mss. library. A triennial catalogue of manuscripts collected 1916-17 to 1918-19. 1922. V. 3, pt. 1: Sanskrit, A-C.
- Mahābhārata. The Virāṭaparvan of the Mahābhārata. Ed. by Narayan Bapuji Utgikar. 1923.
- Mandana Misra. The Bhāvanā Viveka of Mandana Misra, with the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Umbeka. Ed. by Mahāmahopādhyāya Gangānātha Jhā. V. 1-2. [1922]-1923. (The Princess of Wales Sarasvatī Bhavana texts, No. 6.)
- Manners and customs. Part XIV. Coronation of H. M. King Sisovat of Cambodia. B.E. 2465.
- Marshall, H. I. The Karen people of Burma; a study in anthropology and ethnology. [1922.] (The Ohio State Univ. Bulletin, v. 26, No. 13.) (Contributions in History and Political Science, no. 8.)
- Marshall, Sir John. Conservation manual. A handbook for the use of archaeological officers and others entrusted with the care of ancient monuments. 1923.
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REPORT OF THE EDITORS OF THE JOURNAL

Professor F. Edgerton, Senior Editor of the JOURNAL, presented the report of the Editors, and upon motion it was accepted:

During the year since our last report, Volume 42 has been completed by the issuance of its second half in June, 1923; four parts of Volume 43 have been issued, and the fifth and last part has been printed and is about to be issued at this writing; and the first part of Volume 44 has been issued. Volume 44 will be issued in four quarterly parts.

The printing of Volume 44 has been awarded to Messrs. J. H. Furst Co. of Baltimore, who are doing it very satisfactorily. The editors hope and believe that no further changes of printers will be necessary for some time.

Dr. R. K. Yerkes has completed the Index to Volumes 21-40 and it is hoped that it will be issued during the coming year.

The new department of Reviews of Books has, in the opinion of the editors, increased the interest and value of the JOURNAL. As this new departure becomes better known, and more books are sent to the editors for review, it is hoped that it will grow in importance. We bespeak once more the cooperation of American scholars in this venture, which cannot succeed without the aid of competent reviewers.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON,
MAX L. MARGOLIS,
Editors.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Corresponding Secretary, Dr. C. J. Ogden, presented the report of the Executive Committee as printed in the JOURNAL (43. 351 and 436), and upon motion it was accepted.

At this point the order of business was suspended and President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University made a brief address welcoming the Society to New York and to Columbia.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ENLARGEMENT OF MEMBERSHIP AND RESOURCES

Dr. F. K. Sanders, as Chairman of the Committee on Enlargement of Membership and Resources presented the following report:

The Committee on the Enlargement of Membership and Resources reports that definite progress has been made on the task in which the Committee has been engaged for the past year of enlisting for membership a number of those who, while not being adequately trained for the technical tasks of productive Oriental scholarship, are yet heartily in sympathy with the aims of the Society, desirous to further these aims personally, and ready to undertake some line of investigation for which their occupation and their location will give them special advantage.

The Committee presents for the approval of the Society a twelve page pamphlet containing hints for those willing to undertake investigations along varied lines and to report their results to the Society, which is to be distributed widely to missionaries, consular agents and business agents in the Orient.

The report was accepted and much interest was expressed in the plan.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS

On recommendation of the Directors the following persons were duly elected corporate members of the Society (the list includes the names of several persons elected at a later session):

Rabbi Julius Berger	Mr. Andrew D. Kalmykow
Dr. Aaron Brav	Dr. George Alexander Kohut
Dean Oswald E. Brown	Rev. Dr. Nathan Krass
Mrs. Harold Chartier	Mr. L. B. Langley
Rabbi Gresham George Fox	Mr. John W. Lea
Dr. E. S. Craighill Handy	Mr. A. J. Levy
Mr. Edward Rochie Hardy, Jr.	Mr. Reuben Levy
Rabbi Dr. Leo Jung	Mr. Jacques Malakis
Mr. Vahan H. Kalenderian	Rabbi Joseph Marcus

Rabbi Dr. Elias Margolis	Hon. L. D. Samikannu Pillai
Prof. Alexander Marx	Prof. Henry A. Sanders
Rev. Joseph Brown Matthews	Prof. Kenneth James Saunders
Mr. P. J. P. Oscarson	Mr. Vladimir A. Tsanoff
Rev. Dr. Theodore Peterson	Mr. Hans Henning von der Osten
Mrs. Frederick W. Pratt	Mr. John A. Wilson
Mr. Walter Alfred Roselle	Dr. W. Wovschin
Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald	

[Total: 33]

At this point President Cyrus Adler delivered an address entitled "Orient and Occident, a Plea for an Understanding."

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Professor Barton, for the Committee on the Nomination of Officers for 1924, reported nominations for the several offices as follows:

President:	Prof. ALBERT T. CLAY
Vice-Presidents:	Prof. E. W. HOPKINS President JULIAN MORGENSTERN Prof. WALTER E. CLARK
Corresponding Secretary:	Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN
Recording Secretary:	Prof. LEROY C. BARRET
Treasurer:	Prof. JOHN C. ARCHER
Librarian:	Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY
Editors:	Prof. FRANKLIN EDGERTON Prof. JAMES A. MONTGOMERY
Directors, term expiring in 1927:	Prof. CHARLES R. LANMAN Prof. A. V. W. JACKSON Prof. ROLAND G. KENT

The officers nominated were duly elected. The session adjourned at 12.50 p. m.

THE SECOND SESSION

The second session was called to order at 2.33 p. m. on Tuesday; the reading of papers was immediately begun.

Professor NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, of Cornell University: *The Manuscripts of Ibn Khaldun.*

Rev. Dr. JUSTIN E. ABBOTT, of Summit, N. J.: *The Original Sources of our Knowledge of the Maratha King Sivaji.*

The historians to whom we are most indebted for our knowledge of

the Maratha king Sivaji are Robert Orme, official historian to the East India Company, *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, 1st Ed., 1782; James Grant Duff, *History of the Marattas*, 1826; H. G. Rawlinson, *Shivaji the Maratha*, Oxford, 1915; Kincaid and Parasnis, *A History of the Maratha People*, Oxford, 1918; Jadunath Sarkar, *Shivaji and his Times*, Calcutta, 1919. These historians acquaint us with the original sources used by them in the compilation of their works. But not one has used all the original sources now available. Orme was unacquainted with the Indian sources, and the later historians have not used all available European ones. Some indeed have only just come to light. A list of all now known original sources is therefore desirable, and such a list, as complete as I have been able to make it, accompanies this paper.

Professor GEORGE A. BARTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: (a) The Claims of Pan-Amurrism; (b) A New Inscription of Libit-Ishtar; (c) Lexicographical Notes. Remarks by Professors Clay, Torrey, Dr. Chapman, and the author.

(a) This paper presents a number of reasons from historical, religious, and linguistic evidence to disprove the claims that Amurru was the cradle land of the Semites, who were powerful and civilized in the fourth millenium B. C., that the first dynasty recorded in the Babylonian sources reigned in Aleppo, and that Amurru was the place of origin of the oldest Biblical tradition. Reasons are given for dissenting from all these hypotheses.

(b) Mrs. E. F. Platt, of New Britain, Conn., possesses a stone which is a natural combination of chalcedony and agate, which once evidently formed an idol's eye. It bears an inscription to the goddess Nin-lil to whom it was dedicated by Libit-Ishtar.

(c) In the Assyrian laws (Schroeder, KTA, p. 3, Kol. ii, 80), *i-ga-ad-di-mu-uš* is to be connected with the Talmudic גָּזַח "cut-off," and rendered "they shall crop him." (2) In the same code (Ibid. p. 16, Kol. iv, 12) *us-sa-am-mi-iḥ* is connected with the Arabic *šamaḥa*, "be high," "lofty," and in connection with *ta-ḥu-u-ma rabu-a ša-a tap-pa-i-šu*, which precedes, should be translated "carries up his boundary greatly on to that which is his neighbor's." (3) In the same code (Ibid. p. 18, Kol. vii, 12) *it-tam-ra-a-ak* is to be connected with the Talmudic root נִתְקַן "to brighten," "cleanse," and be rendered "he shall be forgiven."

Mr. REUBEN LEVY, of the University of Oxford: A Note on the Marsh Arabs of Lower Iraq.

This paper attempts to show that the Marsh Arabṣ and the Gypsies have much in common and may be identical in origin.

Professor RICHARD GOTTHEIL, of Columbia University: Arabic Lexicography: a statement of our difficulties and a suggestion. Remarks by Professor Ember and Dr. Talcott Williams.

Professor LeROY C. BARRET, of Trinity College: The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book Eleven.

Professor CHARLES R. LANMAN, of Harvard University: Whitney's Material relating to the Atharva Veda.

Upon the death of Mr. Whitney and the taking over of his copy of the AV. translation and commentary, it was needful to ask Mrs. Whitney for the loan of certain printed books and manuscripts. A list of these should now be recorded in the JOURNAL, so that future scholars may know about their existence and the place of their custody. The one of most value is Whitney's *Index Verborum of the AV. Sanhitā*, a great quarto of 1721 pages, beautifully written in his own hand. This gives the context for each word at each occurrence, and is therefore fuller than the portion published in 1881 as Vol. 12 of the JOURNAL. There are also 251 pages of exegetical notes on the text of the AV., in the handwriting of Rudolf Roth. It is matter for careful consideration whether these two MS. volumes should not be printed in full.

Professor IRA M. PRICE, of the University of Chicago: The Nabopolassar Chronicle. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 44. 122 ff.] Remarks by Professor Olmstead, Dr. Chapman, and Dr. Yohannan.

Professor CHARLES C. TORREY, of Yale University: 'Cast it unto the Potter' (Zech. 11: 13).

Professor PAUL HAUPT, of the Johns Hopkins University: (a) The Historical Nucleus of Esther; (b) The Servant of JHVH; (c) Arabic Hypocoristics and Heb. Jeshurun; (d) Epenthesis of *i* in Old Persian. Remarks by Professor Kent.

(a) The pogrom organized in Est. 3, 13 was not planned under the reign of Artaxerxes II (405-359). It was not due to the refusal of the Jews to worship Anaitis. Nor does the golden image in Dan. 3, 1 refer to that goddess (contrast 1 Mac. 1. 54). The historical nucleus of the massacre described in Est. 9, 16 is found in 1 Mac. 11, 47 (JBL 38, 160⁴). For Haman's attempt to extirpate the Jews cf. 1 Mac. 3, 35. 52; 5, 1. 9. 14; 12, 53; 13, 6; 2 Mac. 5, 14; and for Est. 9, 10. 15 cf. 1 Mac. 4, 16; contrast 11, 48. 51.

(b) Is. 53, 4 means: The Servant of JHVH (which is a collective term for the faithful Jews at the beginning of the Maccabean period) had to endure all the sufferings we inflicted on him. In the following verse proselytes say: It was our fault (*nostrum vitium fuit*) that they were mangled (contrast GB¹⁶ 234^b, l. 10; JAOS 38, 329⁴; JBL 39, 158) and crushed, but the chastisement they gave us had a salutary effect on us (read: *u-mûsarô li-šlômênu 'alânu*) and when the Maccabees beat us, we were cured: our eyes were opened, and we saw that Judaism was the true religion.

(c) We say Sammy or Sam for Samuel, Bob for Robert, Dick for Richard. In Arabic we find *Qaddâr* and *Abbâd* for Abd-el-Kader and Abdallah, respectively; Michael and Gabriel appear as *Mazzûl* and

Jabbûr (VG 363⁺). Heb. *Šammû'* (as well as Samuel whose original pronunciation may have been *Šammûl*; cf. Yiddish *Šmûl*) may be a pet name for Ishmael; cf. Arab. *Šumâfûn* for *Šumâfîlu* < *İsmâ'îlu* (Vernier § 213). The original form of the diminutive *fu'ûl* was *fu'âl* (JBL 34, 74⁺). Heb. *Jeshurun* may be a hypocoristic for *İsrâ'êl* (which was still pronounced with *š* c. B. C. 850; cf. JBL 37, 225; 38, 141) although popular etymology combined it with *İaşâr* ('AZŠ: *š* *ebûs*). For the final *n* cf. the modern names *Bêtin* and *Zer'in* for Bethel and Jezreel.

(d) In one of the inscriptions at Naqš-i-Rustam the lancebearer of Darius Hystaspis is called *Pâtîšyariš*, a Patischorian. The Babylonian text has *Paiddîšuriš* which shows that OP *pâti* was pronounced *paiḍi* with epenthesis of *i* as in Avestan (for the *dd* see ZA 2, 264⁺). Esarhaddon calls this region: *Patušarra* (< *Patušyâra*) i. e. *Nishapur* with the famous turquoise mines (Ass. *šad ukni*) on the southern slopes of Mt. Ali Mirsai, some 30 m. NW of Nishapur, the home of Omar Khayyam. The cuneiform name of this peak is *Bikn* (< *Uikn*) > *uknû* > *κῡνος* (cf. *Uštâspa* < *Uištâspa* and *Uštâna* < *Uištâna*). *Pâdišyâr* means *over against* or *in front of*, i. e. *east* (cf. Heb. *qîḏmâṭ*) of Choara (Plin. 6, 44).

Professor N. MARTINOVITCH, of New York City: The Manuscripts of the Turkish Poetess Mihri-Khatun. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.] Remarks by Professor Gottheil.

The session adjourned at 5.38 p. m.

THE THIRD SESSION

The third session was called to order at 9.40 a. m. on Wednesday; the reading of papers was immediately begun.

Professor C. A. BRODIE BROCKWELL, of McGill University: Calculation by Deficients.

Ancient Mediterranean dates appear to be so greatly in excess of reality because computed on units much larger than those of modern arithmetic. As modern arithmetic did not exist as recently as 1500 A. D., it supplies no criteria of the accuracy or inaccuracy of ancient numbers. Ancient numbers, which are based on mathematical concepts without analogy in modern arithmetic, belong to stages of arithmetical evolution to which I have already given the name of "*compound-reckoning*." One of the most important aspects of *compound-reckoning* is the principle of "*calculation by deficients*" to which Ibn Ezra bears unambiguous testimony.

Dr. CLARENCE A. MANNING, of Columbia University: The Legend of Kostryuk. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.]

Dr. WILLIAM J. CHAPMAN, of Hartford Theological Seminary: (a) The Problem of Inconsequent Post-Dating in 2 Kings 15: 17, 23, etc.; (b)

The Fifth-Century Aramaic Transcription of the Name Sennacherib. Remarks by Professors Haupt and Brockwell and President Adler.

(a) The synchronisms, 2 Kings 17: 6; 18: 9, 10, show that the first of Hosea's reign cannot be placed earlier than 729 B. C. Tiglath-pileser reigned two years as king of Babylon, 728-7 B. C., dying in the month Tebet, i. e. January 726 B. C. It follows that the dated notices of Assyrian Canon must be reduced to agree with the above facts.

The anomalous use of the Name Pul(u) in 2 Kings 15: 20 indicates that we here have to do with a later insertion. Menahem and his son were ignored as usurpers by Pekah, and apparently by the annalists of the southern kingdom as well.

(b) The name occurs in the Elephantine papyri 40, 3, 4 bis, 14, 15: and 41, 11. A comparison of the Massoretic points with the very early Greek transcription in Hdt. II, 141 shows that the fifth century pronunciation was either Sanaharib' or Sanah'arib. The accuracy with which Herodotus has preserved the Aramaic vocalisation proves that the story was borrowed from the Aramaean *Diaspora*, and that the identification of Sennacherib's antagonist with the 'priest' of Memphis is a secondary feature.

Dr. ISRAEL EFBOS, of Baltimore Hebrew College: Textual Notes on the Hebrew Bible.

Professor JULIAN J. OBERMANN, of the Jewish Institute of Religion: The Impersonalia from a Semitic Standpoint. Remarks by Professors Gottheil, Haupt, and Brockwell.

This paper deals with the problem of the subjectless sentence as seen from the viewpoint of Semitic speech. It starts with a brief presentation of the psychological and syntactical peculiarities of the Semitic verbal sentence and shows then that the so-called Impersonalia, usually regarded as linguistically abnormal, appear in the realm of Semitic languages as quite natural and even dominating. Ultimately it becomes clear that the "problem" of the phenomenon in question, in the last analysis, goes back to a confusion between sentence and judgment, between the parts of grammar and the categories of logic.

Professor ROLAND G. KENT, of the University of Pennsylvania: Certain Personal Pronouns in Indo-Iranian.

This paper is an attempt to show that the *gh* (Skt. *h* in *mahyam*) in the dative singular of the first personal pronoun is not original, but replaced an earlier *bh*, which is represented in Iranian forms; and other matters to which this leads. Finally, an interpretation is given of Avestan *θwōi*, Yasna 34. 11, as an infinitive or as dative of a root noun to the root *tav-*, 'potentem esse.'

Professor EDWARD CHIERA, of the University of Pennsylvania: New Finds in the Sumerian Field. Remarks by Professor Barton.

From the library discovered at Nippur, we are getting such a large number of legendary and mythological texts that we are safe in pre-

dicting that Sumerian mythology, once completed, will not be second in extent and importance to Greek mythology. Among the recent finds in the Nippur collections are: a long legend of Lugal-banda and the Zu-bird, the Sumerian originals of the Gilgamesh epic, several Sumerian tablets on the descent of Ishtar into the underworld, a legendary series describing the origins of civilization, new creation stories, and the like.

Professor FRANKLIN EDGERTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: Notes on Jaina Māhārāṣṭri. Remarks by Professor Lanman, Dr. Abbott, and Miss Grieve.

Gleanings from some years of class-work in Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*.—1. Vedic words not found in Classical Sanskrit: *khambha* "pillar" = *skambha* (J. *stambha*); *thāma* "station" = *sthāman* (Skt. only in meaning "power"); *vasima* "dwelling" = *vasman*.—2. *kammaṇa* = *karman* "medical treatment" (so in Caraka), and *mūli* = *mūlin* "root-doctor," 56. 31 ("The conversation of the clever is true physicking, and what is the use of root-doctors?").—*hakkai*, "to call 'whoa!' to an elephant" (see esp. 16. 22; J. "hindern"; H. *niṣedhati* is a secondary and loose definition). *hakkārai* ditto (not *ākārayati*).—*khāmei* 25. 15 (*kṣam*, caus.) = "say goodbye" (cf. Russian *prostit's'a*, do. lit. "excuse oneself").—*niyanta*, "seeing," pres. ppl. to *nī* with meaning due to *netra*, *nayana*, "eye".—*vaccha-tthala* = °*sthala*, "place" (J. °*tala*).—*vaccai* "gehen, wandern" = *vṛtyate*, pass. to *vṛt*.—*saccaviya* "seen" belongs with J.'s other *saccaviya* "bewahrheiten" (ppl. of *satyāpayati*); cf. Ger. *wahrnehmen*. Etc.; other semantic and etymological notes.—3. Omissions in the Glossary.

Professor AARON EMBER, of the Johns Hopkins University: Echnaton and Moses. Remarks by President Morgenstern and the author.

There is no connection whatsoever between the solar monotheism of Echnaton (= *ꜥh-n-ltn*, The Solar Disk is pleased) and the monotheism of Moses. JHVH has no solar features, nor any other features in common with Aton. Monotheism may develop independently in different places. The importance of the religious revolution inaugurated by Echnaton has been greatly exaggerated. The connection between Atonism and Jahvism is impossible also for chronological reasons. The exodus took place two centuries before the time of Echnaton. The biblical account of the exodus is the Hebrew version of the expulsion of the Hyksos in 1580 B. C. The Hebrews were not identical with the Hyksos, but were part of them.

The session adjourned at 12.33 p. m.

THE FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session was called to order at 2.30 p. m. on Wednesday; the reading of papers was immediately begun.

Dr. NATHANIEL REICH, of the University Museum, Philadelphia: Solar Monotheism. Remarks by Professor Breasted.

The Egyptian forerunners. Short discussion of Ikhnaton's religion. His hereditary and individual qualities. Foreign motives and influences.

Rev. Dr. JOHN S. CHANDLER, of Kodaikanal, India: (a) The Forthcoming Tamil Lexicon; (b) Names of God in the Tamil Language which denote His Oneness. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.] Remarks by Dr. Abbott.

Professor J. A. MONTGOMERY, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Testimony of the Aramaic Dialects to Oriental Thought and Religion.

In consequence of the sparse remains of Pagan literature in the Aramaic dialects the place of the latter as media of the culture and thought of a large part of the Near Orient for some centuries has been overlooked. The Aramaic deserves study of its vocabulary for the light it may throw upon the ancient Aramaic culture. As examples: the Hebrew *'elôhim* borrowed from the Aramaic *'elâhîn*; *tértâ* 'conscience'; etc.

At this point Professor Lanman received the privilege of the floor by unanimous consent and speaking in behalf of the Directors proposed the election of Professor Paul Pelliot of the Collège de France as an honorary member of the Society; he was duly elected, and being present made a brief speech expressing appreciation of the honor paid to him and to his native land.

Professor PAUL PELLIOT, of the Collège de France: A New Manichaean Manuscript in Chinese.

Professor A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, of Columbia University: The Doctrine of Metempsychosis in Manichaeism.

The paper brings together all the available material relating to the subject in Muhammadan and Christian sources, and supplements these by references gathered from the remains of actual Manichaean documents. We are justified in believing that Mânî himself recognized the doctrine as a tenet of his religion and taught that a retribution through some form of metempsychosis was in store for less faithful Auditors and inveterate Sinners. He may first have derived the idea from Hellenistic notions floating in the air in Mesopotamia, but its development was certainly fostered through his long sojourn in the East (including Hindustan according to a tradition), particularly as Indian ideas were then current in Central Asia.

Professor A. T. OLMSTEAD, of the University of Illinois: The Earlier Religions of Canaan.

President JULIAN MORGENSTERN, of the Hebrew Union College: The Return of the Dead in Early Semitic Religion.

Professor E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, of Yale University: (a) Priestly Penance and Legal Penalty; (b) Words of Defamation in Hindu Law. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.]

Professor ROBERT E. HUME, of Union Theological Seminary: Miracles in the Canonical Scriptures of Buddhism.

Although the philosophic basis of Buddhism is entirely unfavorable to miracles, and Buddha's own position is against the ostentatious display of such powers, the canonical texts in a number of instances represent him as performing miracles for altruistic or apologetic purposes, and even for self-benefitting or thaumaturgic ends. In the non-canonical books numerous wonders are associated with him. Neither Buddha nor the Buddhist writings had any interest in problems of historicity, scientific causation, or philosophic law, though the Chinese *Life* (1. 38) states that Buddha was "born contrary to laws of Nature" (*SBE*. 19. 7). There is the same conflict of evidence in Buddhism as in other religions; whether the Divine is to be seen in the ordinary, the law-abiding, the self-controlled, and especially the serviceable, or whether in the extra-ordinary, the law-superseding, the self-gratifying, and especially the thaumaturgic.

Professor A. T. CLAY, of Yale University: The Expedition of the Bagdad School.

A description of a portion of the speaker's trip through Syria, Mesopotamia, and Iraq (Babylonia and Assyria) in the latter part of 1923.

The session adjourned at 6.15 p. m.

THE FIFTH SESSION

The fifth session was called to order at the Jewish Theological Seminary on Thursday morning at 9.48 a. m.

The Corresponding Secretary, Dr. C. J. Ogden, reported that the Directors had voted to accept the invitation of Yale University to meet in New Haven during Easter Week 1925, the exact days to be fixed by the Executive Committee.

On recommendation of the Directors it was voted to amend Article V, Section 1, of the Constitution so as to read:

ARTICLE V. Section 1. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, two Editors of the JOURNAL, the President and the Secretary of any duly authorized branch of the Society, and nine Directors. The officers of the Society shall be elected at the annual meeting, by ballot, for a term of one year. The Directors shall consist of three groups of three members each, one group to be elected each year at the annual meeting for a term of three years. No Director shall be

eligible for immediate re-election as Director, tho he may be chosen as an officer of the Society.

Also to renumber the present Article X of the Constitution as Article XI, and to add a new Article X, to read as follows:

ARTICLE X. To provide for scientific meetings of groups of members living at too great a distance to attend the annual sessions of the Society, branches may be organized with the approval of the Directors. The details of organization are to be left to those forming a branch thus authorized, subject to formal ratification by the Directors.

On recommendation of the Directors it was voted to amend Supplementary By-Laws II, On the Organization of Branches, so as to read:

1. Upon the formation of a branch, as provided in the Constitution, the officers chosen shall have the right to propose for corporate membership in the Society such persons as may seem eligible to them, and, pending ratification according to Article IV of the Constitution, these candidates shall receive the JOURNAL and all notices issued by the Society.

2. The annual fee of the members of a branch shall be collected by the Treasurer of the Society, in the usual manner, and in order to defray the current expenses of a branch the Directors shall authorize the Treasurer of the Society to forward from time to time to the duly authorized officer of the branch such sums as may seem proper to the Treasurer. The accounts of the Treasurer of the branch shall be audited annually and a statement of the audit shall be sent to the Treasurer of the Society to be included in his annual report.

The Committee on Occasional Publications made a report of progress in regard to Blake's Grammar of the Tagalog Language and Edgerton's Pañcatantra Reconstructed; the printing of these books is proceeding rapidly.

Several persons, whose names are included in the list above, were elected corporate members of the Society.

It was voted: that the proposal to grant a subvention to Fischer's Arabic Lexicon be referred to the Directors.

Professor R. G. Kent reported informally concerning his activities as the Society's delegate to the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

The following resolution was adopted unanimously:

Resolved: that the American Oriental Society hereby express its sincere appreciation of the manifold hospitality received during its meeting in New York. We thank in particular the President of Columbia University for his invitation to hold our sessions at the University and for the per-

sonal greeting that he extended, and through him also the officers of administration who in many ways provided for our comfort. We likewise thank the Jewish Theological Seminary of America for its hospitality during the third day of our meeting and at luncheon. To the Librarian of the Seminary, Professor Marx we are especially indebted for the exhibition of books and manuscripts which he arranged. We wish also to acknowledge the kindness of the New York Oriental Club in tendering the reception on Tuesday evening, and to place on record our appreciation of the abounding courtesies of our own local members. We would mention especially Professor Gottheil, Professor Davidson, Mrs. Jackson, and the other members of the local Committee; but we desire all those who welcomed us to be sharers in our gratitude.

The President announced the following appointments:

Committee on Arrangements for the meeting in New Haven in 1925: Professors Hopkins, Torrey, Archer, and the Corresponding Secretary.

Committee on Nomination of Officers for 1925: Professors Schmidt, Butin, and DeLong.

Auditors: Professors Torrey and F. W. Williams.

It was voted: that the President appoint a committee of three, of whom the Corresponding Secretary shall be one, to consider the method of arranging the program of the annual meeting; that the committee report to the Directors and they in turn to the Society.

At this point the reading of papers was begun.

Professor ISRAEL DAVIDSON, of the Jewish Theological Seminary: A Fragment of a Book of Makamat by Abraham ben Samuel Ibn Hasdai.

The presenter of the paper has recently discovered, in the Genizah, a lost book of Hebrew poetry by this well-known Hebrew author, in the style of the Makamat of Hariri.

Rev. THOMAS F. CARTER, of Columbia University: The Chinese Background of the European Invention of Printing.

Dr. LUDLOW S. BULL, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: A New Egyptian Vizier of the Middle Kingdom.

An XI Dynasty rock tomb on the north side of the bay in the cliffs at Deir el-Bahri, Thebes, has recently been cleared by the Metropolitan Museum Expedition. Owing to the wretched quality of the limestone and to ancient and modern plunderers all inscriptional material has vanished except portions of the mortuary formulae painted on the interior of the limestone sarcophagus. These inscriptions have suffered severely from fire used in burning the inner coffin and the mummy in the search for treasure. Careful examination of the fragmentary titles of the owner, whose name was Ipy, has disclosed that

he was Vizier, i. e. the chief minister of the kingdom, and that he also bore the titles 'Chief Judge' and 'Ruler of the (Royal) City,' which were attached by custom to the office of Vizier. The tomb almost certainly belongs to the reign of Mentuhotep III (21st century B. C.).

Professor LOUIS GINZBERG, of the Jewish Theological Seminary: Jewish and Babylonian Law.

Rev. Dr. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, of Columbia University: A Note on Manichaeism in the Syriac Scholia of Theodore Bar Khoni.

Mrs. VIRGINIA SAUNDERS, of New York City: Magic in the Sanskrit Drama. Remarks by Dr. Ogden and Professor Edgerton.

This paper deals with the different types of magic in the drama and the manner in which it is used to further the plot.

Professor J. DYNELEY PRINCE, of Columbia University (U. S. Minister to Denmark): Gipsy Language in Denmark.

A few paragraphs of this paper were read by President Adler.

The session adjourned at 12.30 p. m.

THE SIXTH SESSION

The sixth session was called to order at 2.20 o'clock on Thursday afternoon by Professor Haupt in the absence of the President; the reading of papers was immediately resumed.

Mr. ANDREW D. KALMYKOW, of New York City: Iranians and Slavs in South Russia. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.] Remarks by Professor Jackson and Dr. Ogden.

Professor A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, of New York City: Brief Iranian Notes. Remarks by Dr. Ogden, Mr. Ware, Dr. Uhl, and Professor Haupt.

A philological discussion of Avestan *urvato*, Old Persian *abicari*, and the word *tavgird* in the Turkish Manichaean Fragment T. M. 423 c.

The following papers were read by title.

Dr. DAVID I. MACHT, of the Department of Pharmacology, Johns Hopkins University: A Scientific Appreciation of the Biblical References to Menstruation.

The author of this paper, in connection with developing a new branch of science, to be known as "Phyto-Pharmacology," or the effects of drugs and poisons on plants, found that plant protoplasm is often much more sensitive than animal protoplasm is to the effects of poisons of animal origin. This method of study was applied concerning the poison of menstruation. The purely scientific data obtained by the author not only prove the existence of a menstrual

poison, but substantiate also to a surprising extent all the notions concerning contagion by touch, etc., mentioned in this connection in ancient literature and more particularly in the Bible.

Professor MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, of the Johns Hopkins University: On the Mallinātha Caritra, the chronicle of the woman Malli, the 19th Tīrthamkara, or Savior, of the Jains.

A full account of this Jina, who is the only woman among the 24 traditional Saviors. It is based upon Vijayacandrasūri's Mallinātha Caritra, which, like many other Jaina works, has passed thru the skilful hands of the famous redactor Pradyumnasūri, or Pradyumnācārya. In its present form it is a Mahākāvya, or 'Great Epic,' narrating the prebirth, life in the present existence, and stories connected with that Savior. The present elaboration by the writer is on parallel lines with his *Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Pārçvanātha* (the 23d, or penultimate Jina), published in Baltimore by the Johns Hopkins Press in 1919.

Professor FRANK GAVIN, of the General Theological Seminary: Some Notes on Early Christian Baptism. [To be printed in the JOURNAL]

Dr. HENRY S. GEHMAN, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Buddhist Purgatory.

The spirits of the departed are known as *petas*. They appear both day and night at the places where they had lived or had their activities. Torments of these spirits described in Peta-Vatthu. Punishment bears a similarity to the offence committed in thought, word, or deed. Also cases of partial reward and partial punishment. Appearance, nature of misery, and cause of sufferings of *petas* discussed. The conspicuous part that the transfer of merit plays. Buddhism encourages the monastic life, which of course necessitates liberality on the part of the friars' friends and fellow-countrymen. Many a man or woman had to pay the penalty for niggardliness.

Rev. Dr. WILLIAM ROSENAU, of the Johns Hopkins University: Biblical Passages in the Jewish Liturgy.

Words when taken out of their context have a meaning oft not originally intended. This is noted in prayers recited and sermons preached—not to mention general literature. The Jewish Liturgy may for this reason be said to be responsible for strange applications and interpretations of Biblical texts. To illustrate: the opening section of the classic Synagogue ritual reads: "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel!"—as though Bileam, who is reported to have uttered these words (Num. 24: 51), referred them, like the liturgists, to the House of God, frequently called "Tent," as in the phrase "Tent of Meeting," and also designated "Tabernacle," as in the phrase found in Ex. 25:9, et al., when in reality Bileam alluded to the homes of Israel, and perhaps included the atmosphere they possessed.

Mr. S. B. FINESINGER, of the Johns Hopkins University: (a) Heb. 'aḡûr ṡē-'azûb and 'er ṡē-'ônē; (b) The Egyptian Prototype of *nablum*.

(a) Heb. 'aḡûr ṡē-'azûb does not mean *shut up and freed or under taboo and free from it* or *bondman and freeman* or *married and unmarried* or *under and over age* or *pure and impure* (AT¹ 1, 321, h) but, according to Haupt, *affluent* (cf. Arab. ḡāḡira bi-'l-māli) and *destitute*. Heb. 'aḡért, on the other hand, corresponds to Arab. 'arḡ (JAOS 42, 376). In Mal. 2, 12 we must read, according to Haupt, 'ašîr ṡē-'ônē, not 'unnē (GK²⁸ 52, s) or 'anē or 'anî (cf. WdG 1, 136, B; JBL 26, 42; VG 577).

(b) Heb. nēḡel, musical instrument, which appears in Greek as *nablion* and in Latin as *nablum*, is not, as Wellhausen thought, the same as nēḡel = water-skin, nor as Brugsch thought, the equivalent of Egyptian *nfr* = lute. There is in Egyptian no lute called *nfr*. The Egyptian equivalent is *bīn.t*, where *t* is the feminine ending, and *ī* represents original *l*. For Egyptian *ī* < Semitic *l*, cf. *ib* < *īb* < *lb*, Heb. *lēb*, heart. Thus *bīn* < *bln* < *nbl*. That *bīn.t* means harp can be seen from the harp determinative, with which it is often written.

Mr. A. J. LEVY, of the Johns Hopkins University: (a) Sumerian and Turkish; (b) *mizyād ra'āb*, 'famine-food,' Deut. 32: 24.

(a) The theory (JRAS, 1916, p. 53; cf. JAOS 13, cclix; GGAO 34) that Sumerian is allied to Georgian (*Karthli*) is not contested by Theo. Kluge, *Welcher Sprachengruppe ist das Sumerische anzugliedern?* (Leipsic, 1921) although he thinks that Sumerian recalls the languages spoken in the Sudan (cf. ZDMG 63, 526, l. 19). He endorses Haupt's view (SFG vi; cf. CV 48) that Sumerian is not an Altaic language (contrast GGAO 21; ZA 25, 90). Words like Sum. *ada*, father; *ama*, mother (Turk. *atá*, *aná*) prove nothing; and Sum. *eš*, three; *dingir*, god; *gigā-gim*, like the night, etc. . . . (Turk. *üç*, *teñri*, *gijāh-gibî*) are accidental coincidences.

(b) In Deut. 32, 24 we must read, according to Haupt, *mizyād*, provisions, stores, fare, which is to be substituted also (AJSL 26, 11) for *mázû* (Ps. 144, 13) and *mazôr* (Ob. 7) as well as *mēzarim* (Job 37, 9). We find the same mistake (*mēzôrâ* for *mizyāda*) in *Kelim* 20, 1. In Is. 5, 13 we must read *mētē ra'āb*, starved with hunger; *to starve* means orig. *to die* (Ger. *sterben*). For *mizyād ra'āb* cf. *lāhm laḡṣ*, also *lāhm hā-'āḡabim* and *lāhm dim'ā* (BA, 4, 584). *Famine-food, plague-bread, virulent pestilence* is a gloss to the preceding verse.

Rev. EDWARD R. HAMME, of Reisterstown, Md.: (a) The *ī* in the Hebrew *Hif'il*; (b) The Original Meaning of Heb. *barā*, 'create.'

(a) The *ī* in the Hebrew *Hif'il* is not transferred from the *ī* in the *Hif'il* of the *verba mediae* *y* (GK²⁸ 151; BuL § 46, b); but, according to Haupt, the perfect is based on the inf. *haqīl*, a form like the inf. Pi'el *taqīl* (JBL 38, 186; VG 385). In Assyrian the per-mansive (which corresponds to the Hebrew perfect; contrast VG 569)

is identical with the infinitive in all the conjugations except the Qal, where it is derived from the intransitive participle (AG³ 260. 242). Contrast *Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 2, 530 (Leyden, 1885).

(b) Heb. *barâ*, create, is, according to Haupt, connected with *bar*, clear, pure; cf. Arab. *bâkir*, Eth. *bêrûh*, Ass. *banû* (ZA. 3, 58); Heb. *bêré* means to clear of trees, Ger. *lichten*; our to clean land means to clear of weeds. For Heb. *bên*, between (Ass. *bêru*) cf. our in the clear, Ger. *im Lichten*, and Lat. *lumen*, internal space. Also the primary connotation of Ass. *bêru*, double-league (ZA 25, 386) is space. Heb. *barâ*, create, means orig. *make a clean job*, Ger. *saubere Arbeit* (ZA 30, 61; JBL 39, 154). Heb. *banâ*, build, is a doublet of *barâ*, just as Aram. *bar*, son, is a doublet of *bin* (contrast AJSL 1, 224; JBL 36, 78m) while *bar*, field, corresponds to τὸ καθάρον (contrast JBL 36, 255) and *barî*, fat (cf. *merî*, Arab. *yariî*, *hâbir*) to λιπαρός, *nitidus*.

Professor ISADORE LHEVINNE, of Temple University: Gleanings from Old Latin Glossaries.

The substance of this paper is to prove a number of Latin words, unrecorded in Dictionaries, but found by me in Old Glossaries (pub. in Goetz *Corpus*), and furthermore corroborated by the Romance languages. These forms are:—Septembriu—Octobriu—Subilare—Cappulare—Semare—and others.

Aside from discussing these forms I hope to establish the place of provenance of three glossaries Cod. Vatic. 332¹ (VII c., oldest extant gloss.), Gloss. Affatim (VIII c.) and Cod. Sangall. 912, all published in Corp. Gloss. Latin. Vol. IV.

Professor J. A. MONTGOMERY, of the University of Pennsylvania: *hargîšû*, Daniel 6: 7, 12, 16, a word of kaleidoscopic interpretations.

The Greek translates by 'came' and 'watched'; the Syriac by 'came,' 'watched' and 'cried out'; the Vulgate by *surripuerunt*, *curiosius inquirentes*, and *intelligentes*; the English versions vary between 'assembled' and 'rushed tumultuously.' The word means 'act in concord,' cf. the Hebrew and Greek to Ps. 55¹⁸; the use of the verb in Peshitta to Acts 5² 'be privy'; and the enigmatic *hamônâ'it* in Sachau's papyrus no. 1, line 5; etc.

Rev. Dr. WILLIAM ROSENAU, of the Johns Hopkins University: Talmudic Connotations of *Abh*, 'Father.'

Primarily, *Abh* means 'Father.' Its derived significations in peculiar combinations when applied to persons are: authority, head of guild, possessor of wide experience, presiding officer of court, and redactor or editor. Again, *Abh* is often used as signifying source, reality, principal rule, distinct foundation. The application of the plural of *Abh* is noteworthy. In specific connections it may mean ancestors, benedictions, first transmitters of traditions, fundamental groups of work, states of uncleanness, and damages. The underlying

psychology of the large variety of connotations which *Abh* has is not always obvious.

Professor MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, of the Johns Hopkins University: On Two Alleged Stanzas in Pāisāci Prākṛit.

In Ajitaprabhasūri's Śāntinātha Caritra 4. 83, 84, two Piśācas, or demons, are overheard to speak in their own language, said to be Pāisāci (*pāisāci bhāṣā*), the language in which Guṇādhya composed the Bṛhatkathā. This is the first alleged occurrence of Pāisāci in Hindu literature. The stanzas are compared with the grammatical reports on that language, and the question is raised whether the two obviously Prākṛit stanzas are really Pāisāci.

Dr. NATHANIEL REICH, of the University Museum, Philadelphia: Marriage and Divorce in Ancient Egypt.

Bachelorhood in Ancient Egypt. A marriage contract in the University Museum, 263 B. C. The equal rights of the ancient Egyptian women. A marriage contract rendered by the woman to the man. A divorce in the U. M., 283 B. C. An Egyptian romance illustrating matrimonial rights. Another marriage contract in the U. M., 224 B. C. Short comparison of the status of women and of marriage in the Hammurabi Code, the Aramaic papyri of Assuan, the Bible, the Talmud, the Syrian Law Code, and the Koran with that of the Greeks and Romans.

Professor A. T. CLAY, of Yale University: The Fertility of the Euphrates Valley.

Dr. FRANK R. BLAKE, of the Johns Hopkins University: (a) The Department of Philippine Languages at the University of the Philippines; (b) Collection of Material on the Interrogative Sentence in the Philippine Dialects; (c) Distributive Expressions in Ethiopic.

(a) The department of Philippine languages at the University of the Philippines in Manila was organized during the past year and put under the charge of Prof. Otto Scheerer, one of the chief authorities on Philippine linguistics in the Islands. The courses so far given have been of a general linguistic and comparative grammatical character, and have been attended by a number of native students. Courses in the scientific and practical study of the chief native idioms will probably be introduced later. A number of my Philippine articles, published in the JOURNAL, are being used as textbooks.

(b) In pursuance of the work in long-distance collection of Philippine linguistic material, which I briefly described in JAOS. 42. 399 (1922), a second questionnaire, on the Interrogative Sentence, has since been distributed, and of about 75 copies sent out nearly 50 have been answered and returned. Most of these deal with the seven principal languages, Tagalog, Bisaya, Iloko, Bikol, Pangasinan, Pampanga, and Ibanag (more than half being devoted to the numerous dialects

of Bisaya); but there are also a number dealing with some of the lesser-known idioms, viz., Yogad, Gaddang, Nabaloi, Magindanaw, and Kuyono. The idea of this undertaking is to provide the material for a "Comparative Grammar of the Philippine Languages."

(c) Distributive expressions in Ethiopic are based on expressions in which the word to be distributed or the phrase in which it occurred was repeated, e. g., *be'esî be'esî*, 'every man,' *za-âmat za-âmat*, 'of every year.' These original expressions have been superseded almost entirely by those in which the preposition or case-sign before the word is repeated, e. g., *zaza-âmat*. The numerous constructions developed secondarily out of these repeated particles, e. g., *baba*, 'in every,' which has become simply distributive and may be used with a noun in any case, form the subject of the present paper.

Professor R. P. DOUGHERTY, of Goucher College: Labor in Babylonia in the Sixth Century B. C.

There are many records which indicate that there were different sources for the supply of labor in all periods of Babylonian history. The records are especially complete for the Neo-Babylonian period, during which the following classes of labor existed: (a) slave labor, (b) consecrated labor, (c) military labor, (d) hired labor, (e) skilled labor.

Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, of New York City: Names of Avestan Demons in the Manichaean Fragments from Turfan.

The names of certain of the demonic beings of the Avesta are found likewise in the Middle Persian and other Manichaean Fragments discovered at Turfan. Aside from the common noun *dēvān*, 'demons' (Av. *daēva-*), there occur also, in the fragments thus far published, the following: *Aḥarmēn* (= Av. *Añra Mainyu*); *Azdaḥāg* (= Av. *Aži Dahāka*); *Āz* (= Av. *Āzi*); *Dūšyāriy* (= Av. *Dužyāirya*); *Parīgān*, plural (cf. Av. *Pairikā*); *Mazan*, *Mazanān* (cf. Av. *Māzainya*).

Mr. JAL DASTUR C. PAVRY, of Columbia University: Nēryōsang and Other Old Parsi Sanskritists.

The Sanskrit writings of the Parsis are mainly translations of the Pahlavi version of the Avesta or of Pahlavi-Pazand works. The majority of these are by the well-known Dastur Nēryōsang, who flourished in the latter part of the twelfth century A. D. A study of Avestan-Pahlavi-Sanskrit manuscripts further reveals the names of three others besides Nēryōsang, who deserve mention. The first, Dīn-dārū Bahman, according to the manuscript H₁, is the reputed translator of the Pazand *Marriage Benediction*. The second, Mōbēd Chāndā, is the author of a small treatise on the Parsi Calendar, *Chāndā Prakāś*, according to the manuscript K₁₂. The question as to the third, Ākō Adhyārū, is left for future consideration. According to the manuscript EMU₂₁, he is said to be the author of the much discussed *Sixteen Slokas*, describing the religion and customs of the Parsis.

Mr. PAUL POPENOE, of Coachella, Cal.: 'Your Paternal Aunt the Date-Palm.'

Created, according to Muhammad, from the earth left over after the creation of Adam, and therefore akin to man, the date palm was venerated in the Orient throughout early history. Botanical evidence indicates that it is a native of the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf, though it is not now to be found wild anywhere. Its cult apparently began in the Tigris-Euphrates delta, spread northward, and was carried by Phoenicians to all the shores of the Mediterranean. It is traceable in most of the religions of that region, its first appearance in the Bible being as the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden. Oriental Christians had an apocryphal legend (later circulated by Muhammad in the Koran) that Jesus was born under a date palm—just as Apollo had been, centuries earlier. Egypt alone seems to have been little influenced by the cult, which had largely died out everywhere before 1,000 A. D.

Mr. JAMES R. WARE, of the University of Pennsylvania: Old Persian *niyaθrārayam*.

The ordinary explanation of this form as an intensive fails adequately to account for the vowel *ā* of the supposedly reduplicated syllable, since that vowel should have been assimilated to the vowel of the root syllable. We might consider the form as the result of contamination with **niyadārayam*, discussed below. It is better, however, to treat *niyaθrārayam* as a causative which has suffered contamination with a word of similar formation and meaning, **niyadārayam*. From a comparison with the Skt. we should expect a causative of *niVθri* to appear in the first person singular Imperfect Indic. as **niyaθrāyayam*. Contamination with **niyadārayam* would give a *niyaθrārayam* and so dispense with the repetition of the *-ya-* which was evidently distasteful to the Indo-Iranian speaking peoples.

The Society adjourned at 2.57 p. m. to meet in New Haven in 1925.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MIDDLE WEST BRANCH
OF THE
American Oriental Society

AT ITS EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN, 1924

In accordance with action taken by the Executive Committee of the Branch after consultation with its membership, an invitation from the University of Michigan was accepted and the 1924 meeting was held at Ann Arbor on March 28 and 29. The Central Section of the American Anthropological Association kindly arranged to hold its annual meeting at the same time and place. So the two societies enjoyed in common a dinner and reception Friday evening and a luncheon Saturday noon as guests of the University. The Friday evening and Saturday afternoon sessions were also held jointly.

The following members of our Society were present:

Allen	Lybyer	Sellers
Bonner	Meek	Smith, J. M. P.
Brown, G. W.	Nykl	Waterman
Buddenweiser	Olmstead	Wolfenson
Clark	Paul	
Fullerton	Price	

Two candidates for membership were also in attendance:

Sanders, Henry A.	Wilson, John A.
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At the Friday afternoon session a nominating committee consisting of Professors Bonner, J. M. P. Smith, and Olmstead was chosen by nominations from the floor and was instructed to report on Saturday morning. Professor ALBERT H. LYBYER read his paper: *Current Political Changes in the Islamic World*. (To be published in *Current History*.) Professors CAMPBELL BONNER and HENRY A. SANDERS, assisted by other members of the Departments of Greek and Latin, then exhibited the University's large and choice collection of papyri and manuscripts.

After the joint dinner at the Michigan Union, members of the two societies were officially welcomed at the Friday evening session

by Dr. ALEXANDER D. RUTHVEN, Director of the Museum of Zoology, in behalf of the University. His talk: The History of Anthropology at the University of Michigan, explained the growth of the institution's museum resources and the administrative developments which had led in 1922 to the establishment of a separate Museum of Anthropology coördinate with, but not yet as large as, the Museum of Zoology. Two papers followed:

Colonel O. T. HODSON, of Cambridge University: The Belief in Reincarnation and its Relation to Social Structure and the Cycle of Life Customs.

Belief in reincarnation affects fundamentally even the choice of name at birth, as well as funeral and marriage rites, etc. Examples cited were chosen largely from various regions of India.

Professor IRA M. PRICE, of the University of Chicago: Boats and Ships in Early Babylonia (illustrated).

The elaborate canal system of early Babylonia, and the numerous references in Sumerian and early Babylonian inscriptions, establish the fact that water transportation by boat, float and raft existed in the earliest periods of myth, legend and history. Representations of primitive boats of various patterns and forms are found on seal-cylinders dating from 3500 B. C. down into the later historical periods. These simple vessels were made of reeds, wood, and skins (inflated) as the buoyant factors under rafts and barges. They were round, elongated or flat, and not until the seventh century B. C. equipped with sails, and then only in imitation of the Phoenicians. They were only suitable for inland service, and not for the sea or ocean.

The joint evening session then adjourned to the University Club for a reception and smoker.

Saturday was devoted almost wholly to papers:

Professor D. D. LUCKENBILL, of the University of Chicago: The Pronunciation of the Name of the God of Israel. (Read by Professor J. M. P. Smith.) Remarks by Professors Bonner, Olmstead, and J. M. P. Smith. (To be published in *AJSL*.)

Professor HENRY A. SANDERS, of the University of Michigan: The Text Character of the Berlin Genesis. Remarks by Professor Olmstead.

The papyrus was purchased by the Preussische Staatsbibliothek in 1906. It is in parts quite fragmentary and ends at XXXV, 8. The writing is a cursive of the late third century and the bookform was intended, though it was certainly never bound. Peculiar errors and abbreviations make it an interesting manuscript palaeographically.

It shows great individuality in text, having some 240 variants not elsewhere reported. It is much closer to the minuscule manuscripts given by Brook & McLean than to the uncials. Of the uncials E. agrees best and A. least. Of the groups of minuscule manuscripts

which stand in close relationship, that consisting of b, w, 108, is easily first, while the groups d, p, and f, i, r, contend for second place. The group q, u, (v) may also be mentioned.

Professor THEOPHILE J. MEEK, of the University of Toronto: Some Notes on Canticles. Remarks by Professors Wolfenson and Waterman.

Additional support for the conclusion reached in the author's "Canticles and the Tammuz Cult" (*AJSL*, October 1922) is found in the vocabulary of Canticles; for Babylonian parallels show that its terminology is religious rather than secular. Many ἀπαξ λεγόμενα in the document are also explicable from the Assyro-Babylonian.

Professor KEMPER FULLETON, of Oberlin Theological Seminary: Isaiah 8: 5-10. Remarks by Professors Bittenweiser and Olmstead. (To be published in *JBL*.)

Professor A. T. OLMSTEAD, of the University of Illinois: The First Chapter of Second Isaiah. Remarks by Professors Bittenweiser and Fullerton.

Upon omitting Isaiah 36-39, a striking continuity between chapters 35 and 40 is apparent. Moreover, 87% of the vocabulary of 35: 1-9 is found in the recognized work of Second Isaiah. The writer of 35 was clearly in Babylon. His "highway" was the straight road leading to the Ishtar Gate; the "lion" and the "ravenous beast" were the glazed lions and sirrushes that lined it.

At this point a five-minute recess was taken, followed by a brief business meeting.

The Secretary's minutes of the previous meeting, as printed in the *JOURNAL* (43. 172-176), were accepted.

The Nominating Committee reported as its choices for the coming year:

President: Professor Kemper Fullerton, Oberlin Theological Seminary.

Vice-President: Professor Campbell Bonner, University of Michigan.

Secretary and Treasurer: Professor T. George Allen, University of Chicago.

Executive Committee: the officers, *ex officio*, and Professors Leslie Elmer Fuller, Garrett Biblical Institute, and Ira M. Price, University of Chicago.

It was moved by Professor J. M. P. Smith, seconded by Professor Wolfenson, and carried that the Secretary cast a unanimous ballot for the foregoing, who were thereupon declared elected.

Professor Fullerton offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

The Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society wishes to express its sincere thanks for the generous hospitality extended to us by the University of Michigan and in particular to Professors Waterman, Bonner, and Sanders, whose courtesy has done so much to make our visit profitable and pleasant.

The Society feels the increasing value of coming into *direct* contact with the work done by its various members in the institutions which they represent. It is believed that no better way can be devised to kindle a generous rivalry in advancing the common work to which we are all devoting our lives.

An invitation from Dean Frederick C. Eiselen to hold our next meeting at Evanston was accepted upon motion by Professor Olmstead, seconded by Professor J. M. P. Smith. The date for the meeting was left by vote to the new Executive Committee. The reading of papers was then resumed.

Professor MOSES BUTTENWEISER, of Hebrew Union College: The Date and Character of Ezekiel's Prophecies.

Written after the Captivity; shows affinities with visionary voyages etc. in apocalyptic literature.

Professor J. M. P. SMITH, of the University of Chicago: Isaiah and Sennacherib.

Though the biblical accounts of Sennacherib's dealings with Hezekiah in II. Kings 18-19 (two strands) and again in Isaiah 36-37 suggest *two* campaigns, Sennacherib's own story (on the Taylor prism in the British Museum and again on the University of Chicago prism) leaves only *one* possible. Isaiah's attitude is clearly that submission to Assyria is necessary.

After a joint luncheon at the Michigan Union, the reading of papers continued in a joint session.

Professor OVID R. SELLERS, of McCormick Theological Seminary: The Scale in Egyptian music. Remarks by Professors Sanders, Allen, and Weed.

There is some indication of a diatonic scale in Egyptian music. The harp with three strings and the double clarinet, or small flute, with four holes in each tube may have been instruments merely for accompaniment. The long flute, two of which are in most orchestras shown in the monuments, probably had three holes and was capable of producing a tetrachord. Thus two of these instruments may have been complementary, together sounding a seven-tone scale. Some oboes of the Empire have six holes, two of which would have been superfluous had the Egyptians been restricted to five tones.

Remarks by Professors Bittenweiser and Wolfenson and Dr. Bartlett.

Professor WALTER E. CLARK, of the University of Chicago: The Purāṇas.

A statement of the nature and content of the Purāṇas, the problem

of their date and composition, and of their value for the study of Indian mythology, religion, and history. They have received much less attention than they deserve.

Professor Clark has begun a systematic reading of the Purāṇas in our present uncritical editions and an indexing of all material which seems important. His aim in the first place is that of writing a "Mythology of the Purāṇas" and secondarily that of compiling material which will make it possible to list all parallel passages and borrowings in the hope that eventually it may be possible to eliminate the later passages of various types and to delimit more closely the original nucleus. He thought that a study of the Balinese Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa might throw much light on the problem and expressed the hope that Tibetan translations of one or more Purāṇas might be found. Eventually critical editions based on complete manuscript material must be made but he feels that something of value can be obtained from the present uncritical editions.

Professor LEROY WATERMAN, of the University of Michigan: Abbreviated Ideograms in the Assyrian Letter Literature. Remarks by Professors Allen and Sanders.

Simplification by omission of determinatives or by use of only one member of a compound ideogram is frequent wherever the recipient is presumed to be sufficiently familiar with the subject matter.

Professor CAMPBELL BONNER, of the University of Michigan: A Problem in the History of a Legend. Remarks by Dr. Mason.

Theme of gaining quick death at hands of captors by a trick of pretended magic, traced through early Christian legends and down to use in an Alaskan Indian story by Jack London. Suggestions on unnoticed occurrences of the theme are invited.

Professor A. T. OLMSTEAD, of the University of Illinois: The Earliest Religions of Canaan.

There was a "neolithic agricultural" religion in the Near East as a whole (including Greece) before the Semites.

The exigencies of train schedules required adjournment at this point. The following papers were presented by title only:

Professor D. D. LUCKENBILL, of the University of Chicago: The Egyptian Earth God in Cuneiform. (To be published in *AJSL*.)

Dr. CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS, of Toledo: Women's Cylindrical Amulets.

Professor MOSES BUTTENWEISER, of Hebrew Union College: The Image of Nebuchadnezzar's Dream.

Professor MARTIN SPRENGLING, of the University of Chicago: (a) The Origins of the Court Mosque; (b) A Modern Druse Catechism.

T. GEORGE ALLEN,
Secretary.

EAST AND WEST¹

CYRUS ADLER

THE DROPSIE COLLEGE

AS THE SOCIETY did me the honor to elect me President at a meeting at which I was unable to be present, this is the first opportunity that I have had to express to the members my thanks for the distinguished honor which they have conferred upon me. I am but too well aware that the honor was not deserved, and ascribe it to your indulgence and the fact that I have been for forty years continuously one of your body. To grow old is not in itself a merit, but by common consent years confer a privilege which may or may not be wisely exercised. I have learned from my contact with the more or less permanent officers of the Society that one of the principal duties of the presiding officer is to deliver the annual address, thus rendering to the members a *quid pro quo*. Whether I shall be able to do this or not, you are to be the judges. But it seems to me that if I were to be of any service to you at all, it would be by giving you the benefit, if benefit there be, of a rather extended observation of men and things in so far as these observations might immediately or remotely relate themselves to an Orientalist.

A young friend of mine, who in his early years evinced a very considerable literary talent and bestowed his abilities in an editorial capacity upon several of the important publications of this country, came to the conclusion a few years ago that as all of these things were money-making anyhow, he might as well devote his literary talents to the profitable business of advertising. In talking over with me the other day the theory of advertising he asserted that, in America at least, the first thing necessary was to get a slogan and then keep on repeating it, because, he said, the American man rules his life by slogans. The fact that a certain man could get to be known to people as "Teddy" and "The Man with the Big Stick" was to his mind the reason for the great popularity of Mr. Roosevelt and intimate feeling toward him of

¹ Presidential Address delivered before the Society at New York, April 22, 1924.

millions of Americans, who of course had never seen him. You may be wondering what relationship this apparently flippant introduction can have to the work of such a dignified Society as ours or to the very large theme which the Secretary insisted upon putting down on the programme.

Somewhat over one hundred and fifty years ago Bishop Berkeley wrote the sentence "Westward the course of Empire takes its way." In the middle of the nineteenth century the Poet Laureate Alfred Tennyson proclaimed "Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay," and the uncrowned English poet Kipling has powerfully affected the minds of all English reading people by the verse "For East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet." Although the poem which this quotation opens has an entirely different philosophy, these are the lines which linger in the minds of men. In other words, these are some of the slogans which have determined the attitude of the Occident toward the Orient.

But why should fifty years of Europe be better than a cycle of Cathay or why should the twain never meet? What is this difference between Occident and Orient, between East and West, that should mark them off the one from the other so completely? The civilization from which Europe and America derive flourished in historic times about the shores of the Mediterranean, and there are parts of the Mediterranean which are not as broad as some of our great rivers. Surely the Bosphorus, which separates Europe from Asia at a given point, does not hold within itself the magic that makes those who live on the European shore one breed of men and those who live on the Asiatic another. And at the other end of the Mediterranean, the distance between Gibraltar and Tangier, between Europe and Africa, is not sufficient to make the dividing line. There is no climatic or other difference between the north shores of the Mediterranean and the south shores of the Mediterranean that would justify the statement "Never the twain shall meet," but men in America, and probably in England, if not in the whole Western world, have had the idea from these slogans and flashes of poetry that not only are they something different but something superior. Superiority is not a good method of approach either for knowledge or understanding; the gates of learning must be entered with humility.

The Orientals feel this assumption of superiority most keenly. The story may be apocryphal, but I recall being told that shortly before the close of the Russo-Japanese War, a distinguished French statesman undertook to compliment the Japanese Ambassador in Paris upon the great strides which his nation had made and the Ambassador replied "Twenty-five years ago you knew us by good-looking silks and charming lacquer ware which we sent to your country for sale, and then you called us semi-civilized; but now that we have learned to kill as you do, you consider us civilized."

Or let me take another example—an entirely different example of what I mean. It was the talk during the World War and especially toward its conclusion that whoever stood to win, Turkey would lose. If the Allies won, the Turks certainly would disappear, and if the Central Powers won, the Turks would become virtually vassals to Germany. Now the actual result seems to be that of all the powers that were engaged in the War, Turkey is the only one that really won anything; so it does not appear that this superiority of the Western man always works out when he is put in contact with the Eastern man.

It might therefore be in the interest of the Occident if it discarded the notion of Bishop Berkeley and were not so sure that the course of Empire *always* went westward—if it inquired into the intellectual and material pleasures of Cathay and possibly made a new choice as between living fifty years in present day Europe or one thousand years in some Eastern land, and if, at least looking upon nature itself, which in certain portions of the globe has brought East and West within a stone's throw, it endeavored to find some method whereby minds could meet at least as closely as have continents.

It would seem to me that such a purpose might well fall within the scope of a Society which bears so distinguished a name as does the American Oriental Society; that this Society might concern itself with other subjects than the philological ones which mostly occupy the attention of its members. I do not wish to be understood as casting the slightest discredit upon philological subjects, but I wonder whether the very knowledge which our philologists, many of whom are deep thinkers, our historians, many of whom have a philosophic turn of mind, our students of religion who understand the psychology of peoples, could not also be util-

ized toward a knowledge of the institutions and the process of development of these Oriental nations and toward translating them, as it were, to the western world for purposes of better understanding.

In the early days of this Society, such subjects formed a proper part of our meetings and our proceedings, and I dare say had their influence. When I received the programme of this meeting and looked over the list of papers that had been announced, I wondered that no one of our Arabists should have thought of discussing here an institution like the Caliphate. If we may believe the newspapers, and I dare say in this regard we may, a tremendous revolution has just taken place in what was the Ottoman Empire, a revolution which will affect at least two hundred million people. The institution of the Caliphate, which according to the books goes back to Mohammed and was the source of controversy among the different Mohammedan powers for hundreds of years, was claimed and defended with reasonable success by the Turks in their seat at Constantinople and was an instrument which as much as the jealousy of the European powers prevented the so-called "sick man" of Europe from being carried to the morgue. It was, during the term of President McKinley, even invoked by our own Government and proved of such efficacy that it prevented a formidable revolt of the Moros in the Philippine Islands. Yet no one of us appears to have any light to shed upon the origin of this Institution, its history and development, the result of the abdication of the Turks of this great power and the future religious and political development that may be expected concerning it. It is true that my distinguished predecessor, Doctor Talcott Williams, took the Caliphate as the theme of the presidential address in 1921, but to my knowledge this address has not been published.

I think you all know that something important has been going on among the millions of India. Is it really only as represented, a nationalistic movement—"India for the Indians"? Is it due to the fact that having been told for a long time that they are one of the white man's burdens they desire to relieve the white man of the burden? Or is there a great revolution in preparation against the caste system of India? Or are all these causes operating? Surely such a question is of high importance for the politics of the world today, as it may be at some future time for its history. Have we no students who would turn their atten-

tion to current literature in these Oriental tongues and render them accessible as a matter of interest and curiosity, and also as a matter of vital moment, to men in the West? Students in English literature do not refuse to take cognizance of the literary products of the day. Why should students of Oriental literature do so?

While it may be doubted whether the agitation was real, certainly the question of Shantung at the Peace Conference was made much ado of in this country, and ostensibly at least was one of the prime reasons for our refusal to assent to the Treaty of Versailles. It was held up as a horrible example of the injustice of that Treaty. During that violent controversy, I do not recall that any study of the subject was made by an Orientalist or from the point of view of a man who had real knowledge of either the Chinese people or the Japanese people. It was all left to the amateur Orientalists who write for the newspapers, politicians who were working from other motives, and the propagandists who had axes of their own to grind.

I feel that it is an attitude of this sort which prevents a group of men like the American Oriental Society from asserting and securing their rightful position in the Nation, and I say this not because I think the Orientalists need the position, but because I think the Nation needs their knowledge and advice.

Everyone recognizes that the physical scientist has his place in the national economy. No one would think of starting a hygienic laboratory or conducting any one of the branches of the government that have to do with the physical and biological sciences without calling upon their representatives for information, but apparently it never would occur to the government to seek the advice of this body to deal with their intricate and difficult problems which have to do with lands and peoples about whom we have special knowledge. I am sure that any student of Japan could tell the wise men at Washington that no amount of economic reciprocity, expressions of kind feeling or even the noble charity which was extended to Japan after the great earthquake would compensate that proud nation for legislation that would in their opinion stamp them as inferiors, and that the peace of the world, if not at the moment, may, in the future, depend upon the interpretation by our Government of the actual state of mind of the Japanese nation.

There are three bulky quarto volumes which were issued by order of the Government of the United States in 1856. They contain the narrative of the expedition of an American squadron to the China Seas and Japan in the years 1852, 1853, and 1854, under command of Commodore M. C. Perry of the United States Navy. An examination of these volumes just at the present time and a bringing of their contents to the attention of thinking Americans would certainly not be without value. Japan had steadily resisted entering into relationship with other nations. She desired to be let alone. Every European nation had endeavored to force her into trading. The Dutch alone apparently had had some, but very limited, success. America was determined, to use the words of the Commodore, to break through the barriers of "this self-isolated kingdom." And when his mission had succeeded, in good American sailor style, he writes: "It was reserved for our own, the youngest of nations, to break down at last the barrier with which this singular people had surrounded themselves; and to be the first, in modern times, to establish with them a treaty of friendship and trade which (already copied as far as was possible by other governments) is to form, as we hope, the initiatory step in the introduction of Japan into the circle of commercial nations."

Commodore Perry signed this treaty on behalf of the United States on the last day of March, 1854, just about seventy years ago. Although there was an occasion, it was no accident that it was just about the middle of the 19th century that our country sought to open up relations with this "self-isolated kingdom." For following the Mexican War there had been a transfer to the United States of the Territory of California, and this vigorous young child of America had hardly begun to walk when it looked across the Pacific for advantageous trade relationships. I wonder whether it is not a patriotic duty to bring such matters to mind at the present moment.

Or let me return for a moment to the Turks. When the Peace Conference at Versailles had sat for months and months, it adjourned without settling the Eastern question. It was no more difficult than the other questions they had to settle, but the real fact was that they did not have the people who knew about it. As far as I can recall, amidst the large collection of experts that were assembled by this country to take to Paris, there was not a single

one who had set foot upon Oriental soil except possibly as a tourist, and I am not even sure of that. The result of this unsettled state of the condition of Turkey was the subsequent ill-advised attack of Greece upon the Turks, since for these powers the War was not ended, the triumph of the Turks, and a complete surrender to them by a war-weary world of the things that the great powers had most emphatically stated would never be granted to the Turks. Any real student of Near Eastern affairs could have informed the statesmen of the great powers early in 1919 that their plan of removing the Turk to a small undefined section of Asia Minor was bound to fail. But it took the Conferences of San Remo in 1920 and Lausanne in 1922-23 to convince the Western world that the Eastern man was still to be reckoned with. I am credibly informed that when the subject of Mosul and incidentally its oil deposits came before these assemblages, the great statesmen did not even know where Mosul was.

For this ignorance they are not to be blamed entirely. I think it is our fault—the fault of a Society like this which is keeping its studies within too limited a scope or has not time to apply them to the conditions of the world at the present day.

The American Oriental Society had its origin in a meeting held in August, 1842, in the office of John Pickering of Boston. John Pickering himself was not an Orientalist. He was a lawyer, he had diplomatic experience, and he was a student of the languages of the North American Indians. His definite contribution to knowledge was a Greek Dictionary. At the time that the Society was founded, its purposes were stated to be the “cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African and Polynesian languages.” But within a few years, this definite linguistic attitude of the young organization did not appear to suit the members; the Constitution was re-drafted, and the provision was added that its purposes, beside the linguistic ones already named, should be the “encouragement of researches of any sort by which the knowledge of the East may be promoted” and the “cultivation of a taste for Oriental studies in this country”; and these, as far as I know, are still the expressed purposes of the American Oriental Society.

It is interesting to see how in the early years and indeed for quite a number of years one or another of our members did keep us in contact with the actual happenings of the East and its rela-

tionship to the Western world. In one of our volumes I find a paper discussing the mode of applying the telegraph in connection with the Chinese language, and in another a study of the state and prospects of the English language in India. Men connected with our consular and diplomatic service, notably John P. Brown, for so many years the dragoman of the United States Legation at Constantinople, used to keep us *au courant* of the important documents that were issued by the Turkish or other governments. Even in the time of most of us, I may recall the contributions to this Society on Korea in its relation to China, as well as on other subjects, of W. W. Rockhill, whose career in the Department of State and in the diplomatic service of the United States is unequalled in its length and variety. Subjects in the physical sciences which might have a bearing upon Oriental history or the interpretation of documents were considered within our scope, and such a paper as "Traces of Glacial Action on the Flank of Mount Lebanon" was actually admitted to our Journal. Pickering himself proclaimed in his very first address as one of the general purposes of the Society the contribution of studies and memoirs which would result in the completion of the general ethnography of the globe.

I fully believe that the archaeologist or the philologist is justified by his own studies, but I have never understood that our Society was limited to these. If we were, we might have taken part in the newer alignments of scholars subsequent to our foundation. The philological papers might go to the American Philological Association, which by name at least is not limited to Greek and Latin. The papers on modern Oriental dialects might go to the Modern Language Association, for Arabic is a modern language as well as French; and of course there would be the American Institute of Archaeology for papers coming within that field. But we are the American Oriental Society, and it seems to me that everything that pertains to the Orient, ancient or modern, linguistic or historical, political or economic, should be made the subject of investigation and discussion. Information radiating from our membership ought to be put at the service of the state, not only our state, but all other states.

Our membership has been during a number of years intelligently enlarged, under the direction of several capable chairmen. Beside the technical scholars in our colleges and universities it ought to,

and probably does in some minor degree, include the men of affairs, members of our diplomatic and consular services who have been stationed in the East or who have had special opportunities of studying the East, men who are engaged in commerce and stationed in these countries, missionaries who have had long experience in various countries and special opportunities for getting acquainted with the social, literary, and economic conditions. But once having secured the membership of such men and women, we ought to show them the further hospitality of indicating that we have room for them in our programmes and the desire to secure the information which they possess and a belief in its importance by giving it a reasonable place in the publications of our Society.

If our group would adopt an attitude of this sort, the knowledge brought together would then be subjected to the process of *vulgarization*, percolate to the people and to their leaders, if they have any, and ultimately, just because it is knowledge that makes men humble, that makes them tolerant, and makes them understand one the other, the Society might help to bring about an understanding between the East and West, which I believe to be so necessary for the happiness and the peace of the world and which I believe every civilized man owes to himself. Ordinarily the human mind balks at nothing. It is willing to measure stars millions of miles away, to dig into the bowels of the earth for strata which it claims to be millions of years old, to knock at the door of all the mysteries of the universe. Is it possible that men are unable or unwilling to understand their own kind just because they live across the Ocean or on another continent? It is time to put an end to the artificial barriers which slogans and pseudo-ethnologists have erected among men. The Orientalists of America should seek to obtain and spread abroad a real knowledge of that vast geographical area which is within their purview. If you gentlemen of the American Oriental Society will take up the task you will justify a genuine Oriental attitude to which I am sure the Occident will also subscribe: "the Disciples of the Wise bring peace into the world."

THE SO-CALLED FERTILE CRESCENT AND DESERT BAY

ALBERT T. CLAY

YALE UNIVERSITY

SOME YEARS AGO a geographical term was coined in connection with the description of Syria and Mesopotamia in ancient times, known as "the fertile crescent, the shores of the desert bay," which has since been extensively used in text books of ancient history. Prof. James H. Breasted, who is credited with having introduced the term, says: "This fertile crescent is approximately a semi-circle, with the open side toward the south, having the west end at the southeast corner of the Mediterranean, the center directly north of Arabia, and the east end at the north end of the Persian Gulf. . . . This great semi-circle, for lack of a name, may be called the fertile crescent. It may also be likened to the shores of a desert bay, upon which the mountains behind look down—a bay, not of water but of sandy waste, some five hundred miles across, forming a northern extension of the Arabian desert, and sweeping as far north as the latitude of the northeast corner of the Mediterranean [i. e. about 37°]. This desert bay is a limestone plateau of some height—too high to be watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates which have cut canyons obliquely across it." Prof. Breasted's map shows about one hundred and fifty miles of territory through which the Tigris flows, and about four hundred through which the Euphrates flows, in the so-called "desert bay."¹

In recent years I have been interested in the history and geography of this land, called in ancient times Amurru, the land of the Amorites, which includes the country extending from Babylonia to the Mediterranean. In 1919 I published a work entitled *The Empire of the Amorites*, in which an effort was made to reconstruct the history of Amurru, and to show not only that its civilization had a great antiquity, but that the Amorites had a capital in the fourth millennium B. C., at Mari, on the Euphrates, in the very heart of the so-called "desert bay," which was powerful enough to rule Babylonia. The evidence I had at the time to prove the existence of such an empire was fragmentary, and very

¹ See *Ancient Times, A History of the Early World*, 101 f., and *Outlines of European History*, 56 f.

slight; but nevertheless I felt that it was quite sufficient, and this has since been proved correct.

In the spring which followed the appearance of this work, a party of travelers, led by Professor Breasted, and known as the American Scientific Expedition, passed up the Euphrates valley from Iraq to Aleppo. In view of the geographical term he introduced we note with interest what Professor Breasted has to say concerning the fertility of the valley, and concerning the kingdom of the Amorites, which I claimed had existed in ancient times on the Euphrates. His views are expressed in captions beneath three photographs taken by D. D. L. (i. e. Luckenbill), and published in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* (vol. 38, 233 ff.), as follows:

Fig. 24.—The Fields of 'Ānah on the Upper Euphrates.

This narrow fringe of vegetation, extending for several miles along the river at 'Ānah and watered by the irrigation wheels seen in the foreground, is very exceptional. The alluvial flats between the banks of the Euphrates and the cliffs of the desert plateau are for the most part arid desert like the plateau above or disappear altogether. Compare Figure 30. Or. Inst. photo. No. 7332 by D. D. L.

Fig. 30.—A Typical Euphrates Landscape above Ṣāliḥfyah.

Showing how the cliffs of the desert plateau approach the river, leaving too narrow a margin for the support of an agricultural population. The irrigation waterwheels, of which one is seen on each shore, are very rare for the entire stretch from Hit to Meskenah. It is evident that this region never has supported a settled agricultural population large enough to develop a great nation or any degree of political power arising from so scanty a material basis. Or. Inst. photo. No. 7320 by D. D. L.

Fig. 32.—The Head of our Wagon Caravan and the Cliffs of the Euphrates Valley above Ṣāliḥfyah on the Upper Euphrates.

The valley floor between the foot of the cliffs and the river margin (just behind the observer) is arid desert like the plateau above. This is typical of the Euphrates Valley, between Hit and Meskenah. When cliffs approached too closely to the water's edge to permit passage it was necessary to ascend the plateau, where the journey was often seriously delayed by wadis like Figure 31. Or. Inst. photo. No. 7412 by D. D. L.

These remarks are in strict accord with the writer's ideas concerning the so-called "fertile crescent, the shores of the desert bay." There are few other comments on the trip up the valley in his

brief report, which is devoted largely to the mishaps along the route, the dangers incurred, and the persons met. It is also Luckenbill's idea that "whatever prosperity Syria may have possessed from time to time in the course of her history, it rested, not upon broad acres of arable land, but upon her strategic position commercially."²

It must be conceded that it is an interesting coincidence that at the very time Professor Breasted first published his brief report of "The University of Chicago Expedition to the Near East,"³ Doctor Legrain of the University of Pennsylvania published a fragment of a dynastic list,⁴ which showed, just as I had maintained, that the Amorite city Mari, on the Euphrates, ruled Babylonia in the fourth millennium B. C., which of course places the existence of such a kingdom and an empire beyond any further cavil. Let us now ascertain whether there was sufficient "material basis" to support the kingdom which the inscriptions tell us existed along the valley.

In the autumn of last year, 1923, having been commissioned to inaugurate the new American School of Oriental Research at Bagdad, the opportunity presented itself to study the agricultural possibilities of Syria and Mesopotamia, especially of the Euphrates valley, and to note the size and extent of the mounds covering the cities of the ancient past. Accordingly, the First Expedition of the Bagdad School was organized, and six archaeologists left Jerusalem for a general survey of the land. They were, besides the writer, Dr. and Mrs. E. L. Hewett, Dr. J. L. Magnes, and two Yale students, Messrs. W. D. Carroll and Prescott Childs.

We visited the excavations conducted by the French archæologist Montet at Byblos, and studied a large number of the mounds of Syria, including ancient Kadesh, where excavations had also been conducted by the French. We passed through the Beqa' or Cœle-Syria, to Aleppo, also through the region north of the city as far as Carchemish, and eastward to the Euphrates. We descended the Euphrates valley to Bagdad, studying its agricultural possibilities. We went up the Tigris as far as ancient Nineveh and Erbil, out in the desert as far as El Hatra, and down the

² *AJSL.*, 1923, p. 5.

³ *University Record*, January, 1921.

⁴ *Museum Journal*, December, 1920.

Euphrates to Basra, near the Persian Gulf. We will, however, confine ourselves here to the region that has been designated "the desert bay," considering first the Euphrates valley.

There are records of several expeditions that descended and ascended the Euphrates valley, among which the most important for our purpose are the following. First and foremost is that of the survey of the river, which took place in the years 1835-7, by Lieutenant-Colonel Chesney.⁵ Other explorers who have left records that might be mentioned are Joseph Černik, 1872-3;⁶ Lady Anne Blunt, 1877;⁷ William Hayes Ward, Director of the Wolfe Expedition to Babylonia, 1885;⁸ John P. Peters, Director of the Nippur Expedition, 1888-90;⁸ Eduard Sachau, in 1883 and 1897;⁹ Max von Oppenheim, 1899;¹⁰ and Gertrude L. Bell, 1910.¹¹ We have besides these records also a series of important maps.¹²

The records of most of those mentioned show that the many ruins to be seen along the route,—Amorite, Greek, Roman, and Arabic, have been uppermost in interest; it is only occasionally that comments have been made upon the fertility of the valley. We also were interested in ruins, but we paid especial attention to the tells and the agricultural areas along the route. We will begin our description of the agricultural possibilities of the valley from Meskenah on the Euphrates, which we reached, on our journey from Aleppo, after cutting across the fertile region, covered with tells.

Our descent was along the right bank, although we visited the left bank at no less than four points. As we proceeded, we passed many ruins, sometimes on one side of the river, sometimes on the

⁵ *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, 4 vols., with 14 maps and charts, 1850.

⁶ *Studien-Expedition*, 1872-3.

⁷ *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates*, 1879.

⁸ Peters, *Nippur, or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates*, 2 vols., 1898. See Vol. I, Appendix F for a portion of the diary of William Hayes Ward, Director of the Wolfe Expedition to Babylonia, 1886.

⁹ *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, 1883; and *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, 1900.

¹⁰ *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, 2 vols.

¹¹ *Amurath to Amurath*, 1911.

¹² Besides those of Chesney, referred to above, we have Kiepert, *Karte von Kleinasien*; British War Maps of E. Turkey; Map of the Royal Geographic Society, 1918; German War-Maps; *Karte von Mesopotamien*; etc.

other, and a great many tells. At some points the road runs upon the plateau, or desert, through which the valley plain was cut by the river; at others, the road runs on the valley plain.

It is quite true that Professor Breasted found "the alluvial flats between the bank of the Euphrates and the cliffs of the desert plateau" appearing like the arid desert of the plateau above, to which he referred twice in the three captions quoted above, as being "typical of the Euphrates valley between Hit and Meskenah;" but let me ask, did he not find fertile Babylonia looking exactly the same at that time? I also went through Iraq in 1923 at the time the American Scientific Expedition passed through the country, and as I have elsewhere stated, "the rains of Babylonia had not sufficed to bring out the ordinary verdure, leaving the land even in the spring looking like a desert."¹³

There is a fertile fringe along the river at most points. About four miles above Raqqa we came to an agricultural area of about twenty-five square miles, through which we passed to reach the ferry in order to cross the river to that town. Parts of this great area were covered with grass so tall that it was impossible to see a hole into which one of our cars fell, when a spring was broken. We seemed to have seen the valley with eyes quite different from those of other travellers.

On the left side of the river, opposite to this area, about four miles above Raqqa, Miss Bell tells us there are "two dykes which appear to be loop canals from the Euphrates, and must therefore have formed part of an extensive system of irrigation" (p. 54). Immediately north of Raqqa there is a large agricultural area through which a canal, now dry, passed, and also an area below Raqqa for about ten miles, through which four branches of the Balikh river passed. The extent and character of the agricultural area on either side of the Balikh must have been considerable as indicated by the number of tells shown on the maps.

From Raqqa to Der, a distance of about fifty miles, many modern villages can be seen, and also many ruins of fortresses and cities, besides more than a dozen tells, and traces of ancient canals.

On the left bank between Der and the mouth of the Khabur, a stretch of about twenty miles, there is an agricultural fringe averaging about a mile wide. On the right bank I should estimate

¹³ *The Origin of Biblical Traditions*, pp. 76 f.

there is an area, which was doubtless cultivated in ancient times, of about two hundred square miles. In former ages, the kingdom of Khana, mentioned in the inscriptions from about 2000 B. C., embraced this district, in the region about the mouth of the Khabur. The maps at our disposal show that the Khabur is not only lined with modern villages, but with tells, covering cities of the past. This and the Balikh run through the so-called "desert bay."

From the Khabur river, including the region down to El Kaim, a distance of about sixty miles, we come to the heart of the valley, where in very ancient times, as I have mentioned above, according to the inscriptions, there was a great centre of the Amorites which played an important rôle in the politics and religion of Western Asia. It was especially gratifying that the opportunity had at last arrived when I could ascertain whether I was justified in identifying Merra, with Mari,¹⁴ also written Mera, Maeri, and Mar, and in holding, on a basis of what the inscriptions and the records of explorers tell us, that this valley had produced a great civilization in ancient times. Let us first consider the left bank of the river from the Khabur.

The maps of the valley's left bank show a canal called the Dawwarin, which leaves the Khabur about twelve miles above the Euphrates, and which empties into that river at Werdi, near Abu Kemal. Naturally, this canal was not dug to supply the Euphrates with water, but to irrigate the vast territory on its left bank.

Miss Bell, in her account of this side of the river, after leaving the Khabur, tells us, that between the Euphrates and this canal she passed over conduits "across ground that was almost absolutely level." She says, "The whole of this region must once have been occupied and it had also been thickly populated." She thinks the disappearance of the settled population dates from the terrible disaster of the Mongol invasion (p. 78). This aspect of the valley is, of course, quite different from that referred to above.

The maps show low sand hills along the river opposite Şâlihîya, upon which Miss Bell comments as follows: "We entered a long stretch of sand heaped up into little hills which were held together by tamarisk thickets; it is apt to be submerged when the river is

¹⁴ *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, p. 4; *Empire of the Amorites*, p. 108 f.

high" (p. 80). The picture beneath which is found one of the three captions, above quoted, is taken of these little hills. The canal mentioned above is to be found in the extended agricultural area behind this thicket and sand hills. There are four large tells a little below this point, also on the left bank of the river. When this great area has been fully explored, it will doubtless be found that the canal Dawwarin, which emptied into the Euphrates at Werdi, is lined with mounds.

At Irzi, below Werdi, the cliffs come close to the stream, leaving only a narrow strip for cultivation. Upon these cliffs, about a hundred and fifty feet above the water, are to be seen numerous ruins. Our expedition, accompanied by the Mudir of Abu Kemal, crossed the Euphrates and visited this site. We found the isolated tower-tombs, mentioned by other explorers, extending over this high rock plateau. It apparently had been, as has been suggested by others, the necropolis of a nearby city; although the Arabs who accompanied us tried to assure us that if we excavated in the plateau we would find houses. The absence of city walls, however, made it appear to us doubtful whether Irzi had ever been an inhabited city.

Below Irzi, the cliffs recede from the river, and leave another good-sized agricultural area before returning again to the Euphrates at El Kaim, where the cliffs on the right bank also come close to the river. The agricultural area on the left bank of the Euphrates from the river Khabur to El Kaim, through which the canal flowed, seems to be about four hundred square miles.

Returning to the right bank of the Euphrates, directly opposite the mouth of the Khabur, the valley is about a mile wide, at Mayadin it is about four miles wide, which is about the average for a stretch of about thirty miles below the Khabur, until within a few miles of Sâlihîya. In other words, there are about one hundred and twenty square miles of alluvial flats in this section between the cliffs of the river.

Ainsworth tells us that at his time Mayadin could boast of about five hundred houses along the river. He says: "The level and well cultivated plain on which it was situated was formerly separated from the cliffs in the background by a canal, or, from the physical aspect of things, this may have been the ancient bed of the river, and afterward a canal. Idrisi notices such a canal as

being derived from the river at Rahabah, and which divided itself into various branches in the interior." From Mayadin, Ainsworth says, he went "across well irrigated fields" to Rahabah, located on the edge of the cliff about four miles from Mayadin.¹⁵

The maps of this great area show not only large canals, but also dry beds of the Euphrates. About midway in this stretch we left the road and cut across fields in our desire to visit 'Isharah along the Euphrates, about four miles away. When we reached a point about a mile from the town, our cars could no longer cross the canals and irrigating ditches which at present are in use; and we had to walk the balance of the way across fields. Quite a different experience than that which the American Scientific Expedition had! 'Isharah, which is built upon a tell of considerable height above the river, is considered by scholars to be the site of Tirqa, a capital of the kingdom of Khana, and the home of the god Dagon.

About seven miles below 'Isharah, we left this long stretch of valley plain of about thirty miles, and ascended to the desert which ran at this point close to the river. After traveling about four miles, we came to the cliff upon which Sâlihîya was built, which in ancient times was called Dura, or Dura of Nicanor. This ruin came into the archæological limelight about four years ago when an English officer, Major Wright-Warren, discovered and excavated some remarkable paintings, which have since been published by Professor Breasted. Last year Professor Franz Cumont found additional paintings; and on the day we arrived at his camp this year, he was uncovering others. Sâlihîya is opposite "the little hills" with tamarisk thickets, referred to above.

About four miles below Sâlihîya, the desert again recedes from the river, and we have the beginning of another stretch of over thirty miles, and an average of about five miles wide, making an area of over one hundred and fifty square miles of agricultural territory, and a total area on the right bank from the Khabur to El Kaim of three hundred square miles; including both banks we have over seven hundred square miles. It is in this region that an ancient writer tells us the walled city Merra was located.

Isidore of Charax has handed down an account of the overland trade route between the Levant and India in the first century B. C., which followed the Euphrates. He named a number of stations

¹⁵ *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, I, 371 f.

and gave the distances between them. From the river Aburas (that is, the Khabur), he tells us, it was four *schoeni* to the village Asich. (A *schoenus* is about five and one-half kilometers.) From Asich, it was six to the city Dura Nicanoris, which was founded by the Macedonians, also called by the Greeks, Europus. This is Sâlihîya. He further writes: "Then Merra a fortified place, a walled village, five *schoeni*." This, as stated, is the Mera of the Code of Hammurabi, also written Mari, Mar and Maeri. From Merra to Anatho an island, which is now identified with 'Ânah, Isidore says there were twenty-two *schoeni*, making twenty-seven from Dura to 'Ânah. He gives thirty *schoeni* between 'Ânah and Hit. The map shows that these measurements are proportionately approximate.

Some scholars have identified Irzi as Merra, but, for reasons above mentioned, this does not seem possible. I have heretofore suggested that Werdi might represent the site of the city. Werdi is thought to be the Corsote of Xenophon, who referred to it as a large deserted city which was entirely surrounded by the Masca, and where Cyrus passed three days on his march against Artaxerxes, his brother (*Anab.* I, 5, 9.). On a visit paid to the site we found ruins in the river, which may have been part of an ancient bridge, besides other vestiges of ancient times; but we did not find a tell of any imposing size; and we concluded that if Merra was in the immediate vicinity its remains must have been largely washed away since the time of Isidore.

About five miles below Werdi, but on the right side of the river, we came upon what appeared to be the most imposing mounds along the Euphrates. Although the ruins of Anka are indicated on maps of the valley, they came upon us as a distinct surprise, reminding us of such ruins as Nineveh, Der, etc. The walls were clearly marked by mounds about twenty-five feet high, with towers at intervals and at the corners, some of which were partially uncovered. In the description of the city by Doctors Ward and Peters, the southern wall is said to be about twelve hundred paces long; and the west wall running at right angles, ending in a mound where the palaces and important buildings of the city were located, is said to about nine hundred paces long. The river now lies at some distance from the ruins; but it, or a branch, apparently passed through the city in ancient times. There are indications

of recent excavations along the wall, which may be the work of natives in order to secure building bricks. If the ruins called Anka were farther up the stream, I should feel inclined to suggest that they might represent the ancient Merra.

A little above Werdi, also on the right bank of the river, and probably nearer the place where Merra was located, according to Isidore's measurements, is Tell Medkuk; and a little farther Tell Hariri. Doctor Ward informs us that a wall ran off from the latter in a circular form, and came around to a large hill of pebbles, pottery, alabaster walls, etc. He says "Hariri was the site of a very considerable city;" and "The walls did not go around to Medkuk which is more than a mile away."¹⁶ Medkuk is usually found on maps of the district, but Hariri is not. As I said, the distances given by Isidore between his stations are all that we have to go by, and they seem to point to Merra being in this vicinity. However, excavations will doubtless be necessary before the site of Merra is definitely located.

We regretted exceedingly that we had arranged a schedule with the owners of the automobiles, who were anxious to complete their journey, for we should have greatly desired to tarry longer in this remarkable agricultural area, extending for sixty miles from the Khabur to El Kaim. But by a strange misfortune in crossing the desert from Bagdad, we returned to this region. Instead of crossing at a point about ninety miles from Abu Kemal, our guide took us within nine of that town, when our automobiles plunged over what proved to be the cliff of the Euphrates into the valley plain about eighteen feet below the plateau.

In going to Abu Kemal from the precipice over which we fell, we had to cross over very uneven ground, which had been caused by the digging of canals and irrigating ditches of former ages, until finally we reached the fields which are used at the present time.

Doctor Ward has given in his diary some interesting comments on this locality. After leaving El Kaim, in coming up the river, he says: "The forage is better, the valley wider, not much cultivated, but near Abu Kemal are good fields. The bushes are larger and more abundant, almost like trees, with great trunks and abundant branches, making a clump of matrimony vine or tamarisk.

¹⁶ See Ward's Diary in Peters's *Nippur*, I, 364 f.

The soil often seems to hold water well, and the trees form big hillocks about them.”¹⁷

Unfortunately on our return visit to this locality we were more concerned with broken ribs and arms, and how to reach a hospital, than we were to increase our knowledge of the fertility of the valley. Nevertheless the ill wind blew some good, in that we became acquainted with the agricultural area south of Abu Kemal.

It was in this great agricultural area of more than seven hundred square miles, of alluvial flats, from the Khabur to El Kaim, without taking into consideration the almost limitless pastoral lands on either side of the river in ancient times when the climate was different, that the city Mari, the capital of Babylonia in the fourth millennium B. C., flourished prior to its destruction by Hammurabi, about 2000 B. C. It was this district also whence the worship of Dagon, Amurru, or Uru, and other deities, radiated throughout the Near East, and where doubtless the Semites had learned how to dig canals, build dikes, and store water for irrigation purposes, before they moved down the Euphrates into that great alluvial plain we know as Babylonia.

In the section of the valley below El Kaim, we found some wonderful stretches of agricultural fringe along the banks before we approached the neighborhood of ‘Ānah. The travellers are many who have commented upon the date groves along the river, through which the road passes for miles, before reaching the heart of the city of ‘Ānah. The orchards, fields of cotton, gardens of every description, clearly show that prosperity is bountiful in this region.

On the region between ‘Ānah and Hit, Sir William Willcocks, the distinguished engineer, says: “Though to-day, owing to the degradation of the cataracts—a degradation whose steady progress was noticed by the writers of the Augustan age—water-wheels are necessary to irrigate gardens, the benches of river deposit above the highest floods of our time prove that in days not very remote the water led off from above the cataracts irrigated with free flow gardens situated a little down-stream of them and out of reach of the floods. Such was the Garden of Eden of the Bible.”¹⁸ Some miles beyond Hit we come to the open plain, and we are in that

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 364.

¹⁸ *The Garden of Eden*, Cairo, 1918.

great alluvium known in ancient times as Uri and Engi, later Akkad and Sumer, Kar Duniash, Babylonia, and now Iraq.

The explorer and traveller naturally observe that in many places, even in flood season, the Euphrates will inundate at the present time only a portion of the extended alluvial flats which the river has made by cutting its way through the plain. The degradation caused by floods, rising annually about twenty feet, has been going on for thousands of years, and the river has carried its silt down to the alluvial plain of Babylonia. Naturally the channel of the river has become deeper and deeper. This of course can be overcome by the construction of great storage basins which fill in flood season, and also by the cutting of canals at points farther up the river, as did the Egyptians along the Nile, five thousand years ago. To what extent these alluvial plains were inundated by a natural flow when Mari was capital of Amurru and Babylonia, five thousand years ago, and how many of the numerous wadis which empty into the Euphrates were perennial streams in ancient times, is impossible, of course, to determine.

As we descended the valley, again and again members of our expedition commented upon the great agricultural asset the present governments of Syria and Iraq have in this valley; or to use the words of Miss Bell, who with the eye of a typical Britisher, in commenting on a section of the left bank above Meskenah, said: "the majestic presence of the river in the midst of uncultivated lands, which, with the help of its waters, would need so little labour to make them productive, takes a singular hold on the imagination" (p. 47). To include the Euphrates valley in the so-called "desert bay" would be equivalent to including the Nile Valley in the Sahara desert, the difference, however, being that unlike the Sahara, Mesopotamia was not a desert in ancient times.

It is not improbable, since we know that the climate has changed within the past two thousand years,¹⁹ that practically the entire area of many thousand miles of Mesopotamia north of the river was fertile, or at least was a great pastoral territory. The map of the Royal Geographic Society records the vast region north of the eastern stretch of the valley, and it also records only a single traveller, Musil,²⁰ as having passed through it, in 1912.

¹⁹ See Huntington, *Palestine and its Transformation*, 1911; and *Climatic Changes: Their nature and causes*, 1922.

²⁰ *Zur Zeitgeschichte von Arabien*, 1918.

We also studied the Tigris area which is included in the "desert bay." Our expedition left the road at a point between Mosul and Sherghat, and went out to El Hatra, about thirty-five miles from the river, and we returned to Sherghat by a different route. Kal'at Sherghat is the ancient city of Ashur. Both of these sites, namely Kal'at Sherghat and El Hatra, appear in the so-called "desert bay." We found the region about Sherghat to be quite fertile; and in going to El Hatra, we crossed several dry rivers and even a perennial stream, and passed a number of tells and other vestiges of antiquity, showing that this part of the "desert bay" was also habitable in ancient times. This was also the experience of Lady Anne Blunt, who crossed from Sherghat to El Hatra, and thence to Der. She found that "all the country between the Sersár and the Tigris is intersected with ravines and deep wadys, well watered and rich in grass." She said the perennial Sersár "flowed down a well-defined valley meandering through rich pasture, and its banks are fringed with pollard willows, just as one may see many a stream in England" (p. 197).

We were in this district at the end of the dry season, in November, when we found the country occupied by many Bedouin tribes of the Shammar Arabs, grazing their flocks. In her journey between El Hatra and Der, Lady Blunt found tells, lakes and many dry rivers. One only needs to examine Kiepert's "*Karte von Kleinasien*," constructed on the data gathered by a few travellers, Layard, Blunt, Sachau, von Oppenheim, Forbes, and Haussknecht, who made journeys through, or rather cut across, the five thousand square miles, more or less, of Mesopotamian territory, to see what a large number of tells, ruins, rivers, and springs, have already been recorded in the region south of 37° latitude, or from $36^{\circ} 5'$ latitude, where the so-called "desert bay" begins. Wherever they went, they found the country covered with rivers and tells; and yet but a very small fraction of the vast territory has been explored.

The Khabur and the Balikh rivers, which flowed through this region southward to the Euphrates, were augmented by numerous streams, some of these at present containing water, while others are dry. Today the Balikh river at the end of summer is almost dry at its mouth. In commenting upon the Khabur and its tributaries an Arab writer says, it is "such as not to be found in all the land of the Moslems for there are more than three hundred

pure running fountains." Certainly the Hebrew writers and redactors of the Old Testament would have made themselves ridiculous in the eyes of their intelligent contemporaries by placing "the Garden of Eden" in this region, if it were a "desert bay."

And what is true of the region north of the Euphrates, is true of the land lying to the west of the river. There are dry beds of rivers and streams with sand and pebble bottoms in which, at present, water is not seen from one end of the year to the other; even many of these streams are spanned by well constructed bridges. There are well-heads, spring-houses, in which water formerly gushed from the earth, some even containing inscriptions; but where water does not exist today. Even in the flat and once fertile plateau, which was thickly inhabited, there are no signs of irrigation having been practiced, showing that there was once sufficient rain to make the country habitable.²¹

There are reasons for believing that great forests existed in certain regions, where today the tree and the vine could not secure a footing, for the hills are denuded of their soil. In the district between Aleppo and Carchemish we counted no less than sixteen tells in sight at one point. But this land which the Greeks and the Romans found so profitable to develop, is now largely a waste; and it is difficult to appreciate, from what we see at present, what certain ancient writers tell us about the land; for example Cicero, who said that "the country is so rich and so productive that in the fertility of its soil, and in the variety of its fruits, and in the vastness of its pasture lands, and in the multitude of all things which are matters of exploitation it is greatly superior to all other countries" (Manilian Law, vi).

Naturally, a portion of the area between the mountains and the river, especially the northern part of Syria, is included in the so-called "fertile crescent." But let us note what the late Professor Howard Crosby Butler of Princeton, who perhaps knew more about Syria than any other European or American, had to say about the desert region toward the Euphrates bend. "Beyond this narrow fertile strip the soil grows dryer and more barren, until presently another kind of desert is reached, an undulating waste of dead soil. Few walls or towers or arches rise to break the monotony of the

²¹ See Butler, "Desert Syria, the Land of a Lost Civilization." *The Geographical Review*, 1920, pp. 77 ff.

unbroken landscape, but the careful explorer will find on closer examination that this region was more thickly populated in antiquity than the hill country to the west." And concerning the entire vast area from the mountains eastward, he writes: "It has been found that practically all of the wide area lying between the coast range of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Euphrates appearing upon the maps as the Syrian desert, an area embracing somewhat more than twenty thousand square miles, was more thickly populated than any area of similar dimensions in England or in the United States is today, if we exclude the immediate vicinity of the large modern cities. . . . The history of the country gathered in fragments from the Holy Scriptures and from the written records of the ancient Egyptians and Assyrians, plainly indicates that the region was occupied by a civilized and organized society in the earliest days of man's civilized state."²²

In travelling between Der through Palmyra to Damascus, our observations confirmed this. We crossed many dry wadis, saw many tells, and even sections where desiccation due to the change of climate has not been effective in driving away the people. In fact we passed through some very fertile areas.

The exploration of what is now called the Syrian Desert, north, east, and west of the Euphrates, will make it more and more impossible to relegate traditions concerning the ancestral home of the Hebrews and their migrations to myth. The excavation of a few of the thousands of sites in this great Mesopotamian area will show that the habitable portions of the country were very vast, and will also doubtless show, although the country was ruled at times by the Egyptian, Babylonian, Hittite, Mitannian, Persian, Greek, Roman, Arab—that the inhabitants of the entire region from the dawn of history were largely Semitic. But let me add, whether this will prove to be the cradle and ultimate home of the Semites, is a question I have not discussed.

The "fertile crescent, the shores of the desert bay" could be appropriately used as a description of the Near East at the present time if the Euphrates, Khabur and other valleys were excluded from the "desert bay," and Babylonia transferred to it, for Babylonia is more of a desert land without irrigation than is Mesopotamia. "The fertile crescent, the shores of the desert bay" for

²² *Ibid.*

ancient times is, in short, an incorrect and misleading term. It is due to a lack of knowledge of the physical and historical geography of Syria and Mesopotamia. This lack of knowledge is responsible also, in a large measure, for certain baseless theories being widely accepted, such as the finding of the origin of the Hebrews in southern Arabia; making the Semites living in Syria and Mesopotamia in the early period semi-barbarous; and dismissing to the realm of myth the traditions handed down by the Hebrews concerning their ancestral home in Aram. But then, these are simply theories—and theories in support of which there are no traditions, historical and archæological facts, or, in truth, anything else but other theories.

ON FALSE ASCETICS AND NUNS IN HINDU FICTION

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT the place occupied in Western Oriental and European fiction by evil magicians and wizards is held in India by mendicant ascetics, especially of the class who worship Īiva and his consort Kālī (Durgā, Umā, Caṇḍī, Karālā, Cāmunda, and many other names). In accordance with the character and needs of these gods, their ascetic devotees are engaged in cruel practices, especially human sacrifice. The reward for these is, as a rule, the acquisition of some magic science (vidyā) which confers upon the ascetics superhuman power, or puts them in possession of gold. They carry a garland of skulls and a rosary, are smeared with the ashes of dead bodies, live in cemeteries, and are distinguished by many other outward signs of their calling. Īiva himself is an ascetic. He, as well as his horrible consort, require human sacrifice, wear garlands of human skulls, and drink wine from these skulls. Hence both Īiva and his ascetic followers are designated as Kapālin 'Skull-carrier,' the latter also as Kāpālika, 'Worshippers of Kapālin (Īiva), the Skull-carrier.' They have also the names Paçupata, 'devotees of Paçupati (Īiva)'; Čāiva, 'devotees of Īiva'; Mahāvratin, 'performing great vows'; and others. The name Mahāvratin is especially common in the Kathāsaritsāgara. In a copper-plate charter of Nāgavardhana, nephew of Pulakeṣin II. of Mahārāṣṭra (610-639 A. D.), a grant is recorded of a village near Igatpuri in the Nāsik district for the worship of the god Kāpāleçvara 'Lord of the Kāpālas,' or, 'Wearer of garlands of skulls,' and for the maintenance of the Mahāvratins residing in the temple; see for this and other matters connected with this theme, R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vāiṣṇavism, Īivirism* etc., pp. 117ff.; 127 ff.

Why Īiva and Durgā should require human sacrifices is not clear beyond the intrinsic horrors of the old Rudra-Īiva worship, with its orgiastic and cannibalistic tendencies.¹ No less classical a composition than Bhavabhūti's drama *Mālatīmādhavam* intro-

¹ See the recent exposition of this theme in Ernst Arbman, *Rudra*, Uppsala, 1922.

duces an attempt by a Kapālin named Aghoraghaṇṭa, 'Çiva's Bell,' to sacrifice to Cāmuṇḍā, a form of Durgā, the noble lady Mālatī, procured for the purpose by a female pupil of his, significantly named Kapālakunḍalā, 'Wearing skulls as earrings.' The scene is laid (Act fifth) inside of a temple of Cāmuṇḍā, situated in a foul-smelling cemetery peopled by a host of skeleton goblins, their fleshless bones bound only by their sinews within their black and shriveled skins, vast blood-dripping tongues lolling from their jaws. The horrible get-up of both Cāmuṇḍā and her priestess Kapālakunḍalā is described with sultry imaginativeness: skulls figure in both. 'Every skull that gems thy necklace laughs with horrid life,' says Kapālakunḍalā, describing Cāmuṇḍā. Kapālakunḍalā also tells rather vaguely why Mālatī is to be sacrificed: 'My wise teacher Aghoraghaṇṭa calls me to aid him in the powerful rite that ends his toils; to-day he offers the gem of womankind, a victim to the goddess.' In Pārçvanātha Caritra 2. 288 Kālī praises a Kāpālika who is ever collecting skulls for her, and is just about to achieve the 108th skull by whose means she is to 'fulfil her purpose.'² Very lurid and offensive descriptions of these Durgā temples destined for human sacrifice may be found in connection with the practices of the so-called Kāula or Mahākāula, a Çivaitic sect of the Çāktas; see Suali, 'Analyse dell' Ādiçvara Caritra,' *Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica*, vol. 7 (p. 6 of the reprint);³ Hertel, *Jinakīrti's Geschichte von Pāla und Gopāla*, pp. 81, 91 (cf. 142); Samyaktvakāumudī, p. 15; cf. Bhandarkar, *l. c.* p. 147.

The story finds the Kāpālikas, as a rule, looking for a victim which they intend to sacrifice in a cemetery or in a Durgā temple, in order that a particular vidyā (siddhi), 'Magic Science,' which they crave, may accrue to them. It is not quite clear why these vidyās present themselves automatically, as it were, as the fruit of human sacrifice. Kathās. 20. 104 states explicitly that human flesh confers the power to fly. In the story of Ambaḍa human sacrifice

² With the Jainas the name Kāpālika itself is anathema. Significantly the Arhat Monk Pārçvanātha is characterized as a non-Kapālin, 'whose face frightens not, who carries neither skull nor rosary in his hand, who wears no necklace of bones or serpents, and is not smeared with ashes': The Ambaḍa story, translated by Charlotte Krause, *Indische Erzähler*, Band 4, p. 124 (Leipzig 1922).

³ kāula = krūrakarman.

is bartered directly for magic power; see Charlotte Krause, *l. c.* p. 56. The Kāpālikas are depicted, further, as falling from grace thru the lure of beautiful women, and other worldly desires. Tho they exercise skill and cruelty, the story regularly shows them foiled in their purposes of whatsoever kind. When these ascetics try to inveigle their victims, or to satisfy their lusts in any way, they use their holy calling as a mantle, with which to cloak their designs; this trait, construed as hypocrisy, is seized upon by the story tellers as the constant psychic motif of this class of stories, no matter how various are the incidents which they entwine with this prime idea. The wickedness of these ascetics is also connected with the idea of foolishness in the type of 'noodle-stories,' such as the *Bharaṭakadvātriṅṣikā*, where these Īvaitic ascetics are shown to be foolish, illiterate, voracious, lecherous, and scoundrelly.⁴ In Buddhist Literature also the monks frequently fall from grace, and are then described as afflicted with the same blend of perversities. And we may remark that the Thakas, or Thags (Thugs), who sacrifice men to Durgā, are also described as stingy and foolish, showing that the ideas of fool and knave are no less definitely connected in India than in the Salomonic proverbs.⁵

The female counterpart of the Kāpālīka is the Buddhist and Jainist nun or sister (*parivrājikā*, *arhantikā*) whose business in fiction is to figure as a pander, go-between, and deviser of cunning tricks. The outcome is, in general, as follows: In Buddhist and Jaina texts the profession of Kāpālīka is looked upon as low and rascally. Tit for tat, Brahmanical texts take it out on the Buddhist and Jaina nuns, there being no Brahmanical nuns. As an illustration of the settled contempt for Kāpālīkas we may take the Jaina storiette, *Kathākoṣa*, p. 5, where rebirth as a Kāpālīka is regarded as punishment in the sequel of bad karma: One day, as king Devapāla approaches, in the company of his queen, the temple of the Jina, they are met by a Kāpālīka, carrying a bundle of wood on his head. The queen faints at the sight. Later on she

⁴ See Hertel, *Indische Märchen*, p. 376. The text of this collection in the same author's recent edition, *Bharaṭakadvātriṅṣikā* (Leipzig, 1922); a translation in 'Zwei Indische Narrenbücher,' *Indische Erzähler*, Band 5 (Leipzig, 1922), pp. 19 ff.

⁵ See Mironow, *Die Dharmaparīkṣā des Amitagati*, pp. 8, 36; the author in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 52 (1913), pp. 641 ff.

explains that in a former birth she was a Pulindī (wife of a Pulinda, or robber), and that the Kāpālīka was her husband. Bidden by a holy man, she took upon herself a vow, in consequence of which she was reborn as Devapāla's chief queen. But her husband did not take the vow, and was reborn as a Kāpālīka.

As far as fiction is concerned, the theme next broadens out a good deal by introducing all sorts of people who are not ascetics at all, but sham the get-up and behavior of ascetics for all sorts of nefarious purposes. Thieves do this so regularly as to make it a shrewd guess that the Steya-Āstra, or Thieves' Manual, if ever found, will contain one or more sūtras recommending thieves to operate in the guise of a Kāpālīka, Pācupata, or Parivrajaka.⁶ Most important is the following: The last mentioned idea is exported from human affairs into the field of beast-fable, so that there is scarcely ever an animal, which wishes to eat or injure another animal, that does not appear in the rôle of sham ascetic. The Timi-fish who lives in sacred waters, practising the vow of silence, devours his own kind, and the heron who is the animal ascetic par excellence,⁷ in turn devours the Timi-fish (Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche*, 2573, 2575). Tiger and cat; heron and crow; jackal and monkey appear in turn (sometimes interchangeably) in this rôle, victimizing both men and animals.

In the final outcome our fiction presents itself under three main heads: First, ascetics, cruel and deceitful by dint of the demands of their profession. Second, ascetics who fall from grace and violate their profession. Third, sham ascetics. These main forms shape themselves into the following six classes of stories for convenient practical treatment:

- i. Stories of ascetics who practice atrocities *ex professo*.
- ii. Stories of wicked ascetics smitten by love.
- iii. Stories of greedy, gluttonous, or otherwise vicious ascetics.
- iv. Stories of rogues who sham asceticism.

⁶ See my essay, 'On the Art of Stealing in Hindu Fiction,' *AJPh.* 44. 121. For the way in which thieves manage to cast suspicion on sincere devotees see *ib.* pp. 121 ff. Already Mahābh. 1. 5560; 12. 5292^b, 5593^a advises rascals first to breed confidence by building the sacred fire, by sacrifices, by pious demeanor, by silence, by wearing the ascetic's red robe, braids, and antelope's skin; and then to fall like a wolf upon the confiding victim.

⁷ See the author, *AJPh.* 40, pp. 10 ff.

- v. Stories of animals in the beast-fable which sham asceticism.
- vi. Stories of wicked female ascetics.

Before passing on to these stories there is another preliminary matter which requires separate and collective treatment. The stories have a way of dwelling with unction that thinly disguises irony upon the monkish dress, the technical paraphernalia, and the godly behavior of such people, making the good guess that precisely such descriptions will set off best the rascally doings of them that display this holiness. It is done very cleverly, with distinct ironic intention, but this does not compare with the really artful skill with which these descriptions are carried into the domain of the beast fable when it is question of one animal tricking another. E. g., the animal stands on its two hind legs, to match the human ascetic's standing on one foot;⁸ it puts on the ascetic's bark garment or holds sacred grass in its forepaws; it almost always worships the sun;⁹ and it recites sacred or moral stanzas. Both with man and animal these mock descriptions of ascetic get-up figure so largely as to show them to be the reflex of a settled scepticism as to the sincerity or efficacy of such professions in general,¹⁰ dashed strongly with contempt in the mind at least of the intellectual story-teller if not altogether in the mind of the average listener to such stories. It must be understood, however, that this attitude of mind does not exclude faith in really sincere professors of these practices, as shown by every other page of Hindu literature. In spite of their evil ways the populace stands in awe of and shows honor to the profession; cf. Schmidt, *l. c.* p. 17.

We have from the pen of Ānandagiri, pupil and biographer of the great Ćamkarācārya in his Ćamkaravijaya, one description (out of many) of the standard get-up of the Kāpālika, bits of which constantly are verified by the more hap-hazard descriptions of the same gentry in fiction: His body is smeared with ashes from a funeral pyre, around his neck hangs a string of human

⁸ Mahābh. 13. 1798 pokes fun at one who stands on one foot for even as much as a thousand ages (yugasahasram).

⁹ This feature receives, as it were, mock canonization in the title of 175th Jātaka (Ādiccupaṭṭhāna Jātaka). See for this feature, Richard Schmidt, *Fakire und Fakirtum im alten und modernen Indien*, pp. 152, 158, 167.

¹⁰ Dress does not make a Yogin; and there are many shams; see Schmidt, *l. c.*, pp. 15, 21, 183.

skulls, his forehead is streaked with a black line, his hair is twisted into a matted braid, his loins are clothed with a tiger's skin, a hollow skull is in his left hand (for a cup), and in his right hand he carries a bell which he rings incessantly, etc. Accordingly in Kathās. 24. 82 ff. the thief Īiva (dig at the god who stands sponsor to this type of ascetic life) goes with his pal Mādhava to Ujjayinī, where the precious pair successfully pass a gold brick off on the greedy Purohita Ćamkarasvāmin, chaplain of the king. Īiva's rôle is that of religious ascetic. He takes up his quarters in a hut on the banks of the Siprā river; in this hut he places, so that they can be seen by day, sacred darbha grass, a vessel for begging, and a deer-skin. In the morning he anoints his body with thick clay—as if testing beforehand his destined smearing with the mud of the hell Avīci. Plunging into the water of the river, he remains a long time with his head downward—as if rehearsing beforehand his coming descent to hell, the result of his evil actions. Rising from his bath he remains a long time looking up toward the sun—as if showing that he deserves to be impaled. Then he goes into the presence of the god and making rings of kuṣa grass¹¹ and muttering prayers, he remains sitting in the posture called Padmāsana,¹² with a hypocritical cunning face. From time to time he makes an offering to Viṣṇu, having gathered white flowers—even as he takes captive the simple hearts of the good by his villainy. Then he mutters prayers and sits in prolonged meditation. Next day, clothed in the skin of a black antelope, staff in hand, he wanders about the city, and observing a strict silence he takes three handfuls of rice from Brahmans' houses, divides them in three parts, gives one part to the crows (bali-offering), one part to a guest, and with the third part fills his maw. He remains for a long time counting his beads and muttering prayers, but in the night, when alone, he thinks over the weak points of his fellow-men. Thus he gains, as exceedingly self-denying hermit, complete ascendancy over the minds of the citizens.

¹¹ Rings of this sacred grass are worn on the fingers at sacrifice.

¹² This ascetic posture is described by Tawney in his Translation, vol. 1, p. 197, note: Sitting with the thighs crossed, with one hand resting on the left thigh, the other held up with the thumb upon the heart, and the eyes directed to the tip of the nose. The word occurs also in Mallinātha Caritra 2. 23; 8. 377 (padmāsanaśīnam gurum). Cf. Schmidt, *l. c.*, pp. 59, 235, and p. 28, where there is a picture of the padmāsana posture.

Even more subtly Daçakumāracaṛita ii. 44 ff. tells how Man-tragupta, wishing to gain the reputation that he is able to drive out Yakṣas, goes about the business of fake ascetic. He puts on the braids of a real Kāpālīka ascetic, whom he has previously slain,¹³ envelops himself in a garment made of a mass of patches, and sleeps on the bare ground. He gathers pupils about him whom he treats so well that they spread a great report of his holiness. The people are led to believe that he has Veda, Upaniṣad, and Vedāṅga on the string; that he can unravel tangled cases of law by his knowledge of the Āstras; that he is truthful, and pitiful. By contact with him the purposes of religion are soon attained. Grains of dust from his feet cure ills that have long baffled physicians. His foot-water drives away demons that have resisted all conjurors. And he is withal free from all conceit—all this in the minds of the gullible.

In Setaketu Jātaka (377) a band of ascetics, living in the king's park, are about to be saluted by the king. Their leader, Setaketu,¹⁴ addresses them: 'Sirs, the king is coming to-day; now by once conciliating kings a man may live happily all the years of his life. So now some of you do the swinging penance; some lie on thorn-beds;¹⁵ some undergo the five-fire-penance;¹⁶ some practise the mortification by squatting; some the act of diving; and some repeat texts.' Setaketu himself, at the door of the hut on a chair with a head-rest, puts a book with a brilliant colored wrapping on a painted stand, and explains texts to four or five intelligent pupils. In Kāsāva Jātaka (221) a sham ascetic clothes himself in a yellow robe, puts on the guise of a Paccekabuddha, with a covering about his head. In Kuhaka Jātaka (89) figures a shiftY rascal of an

¹³ See the story in the sequel.

¹⁴ This ancient Upaniṣad name (Çvetaketu) as a dig against Brahmanical asceticism.

¹⁵ Pictures of ascetics doing penance on thorns may be seen in the Rev. W. M. Zumbro's article in *The National Geographic Magazine*, vol. 24, nr. 12, pp. 1268, 1269, 1270, 1279.

¹⁶ A reproduction of this penance (pañcāgnitapas), *ibid.*, p. 1286. Mentioned also Jātaka 487; Pārcvanātha 6. 52; and in the story of the merchant Campaka. p. 48 (Hertel, *Indische Erzähler*, Band 7; Leipzig 1922). The penance consists of sitting between four fires, the sun burning down upon the head as the fifth. Cf. Schmidt, *l. c.*, pp. 17, 158, 168, 181.

ascetic of the class which wears long matted hair.¹⁷ In Dhajavi-heṭṭha Jātaka (39) a sham ascetic, who misconducts himself by night, stands by day in a cemetery on one foot worshipping the sun. In Hemavijaya's Kathāratnākara, Story 64, a fake ascetic hangs about his neck a garland of antelopes' horns; puts shoes on his feet; carries in his hand a long trident; ties various roots to his head; daubs his body with a thick crust of ashes; dresses in crazy-quilt cloth; and has his ears hung with symbolic figures of crystal. In Devendra's Māhārāṣṭrī Tales, Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, p. 80, lines 1 ff., a Paṇḍita ascetic, who is really a highway robber, is adorned with diadems of long matted hair; his limbs are strewn with ashes; in his fist he holds the trident; he is encircled with evil-averting amulets; his fingers are busy with his hermit's token. In the same collection, p. 67, lines 20 ff., a religious mendicant who is really a thief, muttering and mumbling (verses), carries a bunch of three staves (tridaṇḍa) from which, after sunset, he pulls out a sword. In Kathās. 26. 196 a wicked Mahāvratin ascetic named Jālapāda, mutters spells in a corner of an empty temple. In Kathās. 33. 134 a Brahman makes an impression because he lives on rice in the husk. In Kathākoṣa, p. 130, a handsome, erotic ascetic with matted hair, named Suṣarman, a sweet speaker, quick in inventing answers to suit the occasion, practises his tricks for his purposes. In Māhārāṣṭrī Tales, p. 10, line 6, Varadhaṇu under cover of the dress of a Kāpālīka ascetic rescues his banished mother, disguising in this instance for a worthy purpose. Thieves regularly disguise themselves as ascetics, and are just as regularly found out; see, e. g., Pārṣvanātha Caritra 6. 139; cf. the statement above.

In Hemavijaya's Kathāratnākara, Story 133, the king's fool, Bhīma, dresses up as Īśa himself, in order to trick his master. He wears an ornament of serpents made of leather; has a third eye painted with soap-stone on his forehead; holds a trident in his fist; carries a cunningly designed lute; has a mass of braids piled like a diadem on his head; puts on a black cloth like an elephant's skin; daubs his body with ashes; and has a garland of skulls hanging about his neck. This is really also the ideal Kāpālīka costume.

Occasionally the slur that is implied by these get-ups is cast

¹⁷ This rascal is probably a Bharataka; see the frontispiece in Hertel's *Zwei Indische Narrenbücher*, *Indische Erzähler*, Band V (Leipzig, 1922).

upon nuns or female ascetics, tho their dress and behavior do not elicit quite as pronounced satire. In Kathās. 13. 88 a female ascetic, Yogakaraṇḍikā, 'Chest of magic,' living in a sanctuary of Buddha, acts as a procuress; and in Daçakumāracarita ii. 37, a nun (çramanikā), named Arhantikā 'Savioress,' who is later on described as nirgranthikā 'fetterless,' acts a go-between for a lewd pair. Arhantikā and nirgranthikā are Jaina terms; it is therefore clear that Brahmanical texts have it in for the Buddhist and the Jaina nun impartially.

But the satire on outward show of hypocritical saintliness bites most pungently in the beast fable. 'Wolf in monk's cassock' is known the world over,¹⁸ but nowhere does the undercurrent of suspicion and contempt of ascetics run stronger than in the descriptions of the get-up and behavior of the beasts in the Hindu fable. It begins in Mahābhārata 2. 41. 30 ff. = 1463 ff. in the fable of the preaching (dharmavāk) haṁsa bird which eats the eggs, placed by other birds in its keeping. Of the feline species the cat persists as the typical sham ascetic, beginning, once more, with Mahābh. 5. 160. 15-43 = 5421-49, where birds and mice entrust their safety to a cat that preaches the law on the shore of the Gaṅgā, holding high its paw (ūrdhvhavāhu). In Manu 4. 30, 192, 195, 196; Viṣṇu 93. 9, cats and herons (see below) are the typical hypocrites.

In Pañcatantra 3. 2 (Kosegarten's text) the cat Dadhikarṇa stands as ascetic on the bank of a river, holding a handful of sacred grass, furnished with the twelve sacred spots, one eye shut, touching the ground only with half a foot, its face turned towards the sun, preaching good conduct, and abstention from animal sacrifice. In the Bühler-Kielhorn edition the cat's name is Tīkṣṇa-ḍaṇṣṭra, 'Sharp-tooth,' and the cat's behavior is not very different. More briefly, but to the same point, Tantrākhyāyika 3. 4 (p. 102); Pūrṇabhadra 3. 3 (p. 190). In Hitopadeça 1. 4 the sham ascetic cat Dīrghakarṇa describes himself as living on the banks of the Gaṅgā, as constantly taking baths, as abstaining from flesh, and as performing in chastity the holy vow called cāndrāyaṇa, so that even the birds are ecstatic in his praise. He has come to learn the holy life from the venerable, blind old vulture Jaradgava. In Bīḷāra Jātaka (128) the prose unaccountably substitutes a jackal for the cat, which latter is clearly the original subject, as is indi-

¹⁸ See, e. g. Weber, *Indische Studien*, iii, pp. 363 ff.

cated by both the title and the poetic stanza at the end. 'Godly is my name,' saith the jackal. 'Why do you stand on one leg?' 'Because, if I stood on all four at once, the earth would not bear my weight. That is why I stand on one leg only.'¹⁹ 'Why do you keep your mouth open?' 'To take the air. It is my only food.' 'And why do you face the sun?' 'To worship him.' See also Julien, *Les Avadānas*, vol. ii, pp. 152 ff.; Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 344. Patterned after the cat is that greater feline, the old tiger in Hitopadeṣa 1. 2, which stands on the banks of the lake, performing lustrations, holding sacred grass in his paw, and offering, from sheer wishlessness, the present of a golden bracelet to the passing traveler whom he subsequently eats.

Other quadrupeds figure as sham ascetics: The jackal, Aggika Jātaka (129), who has his hair singed off his body by a forest-fire, so that he is left perfectly bald, except for a tuft like a scalp-knot where the crown of his head is pressed against a tree. Drinking from a pool he catches sight of his top-knot, reflected in the water, and exclaims: 'At last I've got wherewithal to go to market.' He then poses as Bharadvāja (ancient sacred name), votary of the Fire-God. Accident also furnishes a cat with the trade-mark of ascetic, very drolly, in the Gujarātī Pañcākhyānavārttika, nr. 6 (see Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 140): a cat sticks his head into a butter pot belonging to a dealer, and cannot get it out again. The dealer, out of pity, breaks the pot, but its rim remains on the neck of the animal as a mark of monkhood. In Vaka Jātaka (300) a wolf living on a rock is surrounded by the winter floods, and, to make the best of a bad business, resolves to keep the fast (uposa-tha). In Ādiccupaṭṭhāna Jātaka (175) a monkey, in order to obtain food, puts on the airs of a holy man, seeking alms, and worshiping the sun. The same species in Makkāṭa Jātaka (173) during a cold rain spies from the outside of a hut a nice fire inside, and, in order to be welcome inside, puts on the bark dress of a dead ascetic, and lifts up his basket and crooked stick. Similarly Kapi Jātaka (252).

In the bird world, the heron figures as the typical sham ascetic by side of the mammal cat. He lives on the lake shore; his neck is

¹⁹ Cf. the story of the boy-ascetic Dhruva (Viṣṇu Purāṇa 1. 11, 12) whose spiritual power became so great that the earth could not bear his burden, and Viṣṇu had to place him in the heavens as the polar star (dhruva).

curved; he stands on one foot. These features belong, I believe, to the natural history of the baka, who probably differs little from our pelican. They are well calculated to have originated the fancy that he is a true ascetic, as well as a sham ascetic, the latter because he lusts after fish; see the author in *AJPh.* 40. 10. There is but a solitary detailed description of another bird as sham ascetic, in *Dhammadhaja Jātaka* (384),²⁰ namely a 'travelled crow' whose asceticism is mocked in precisely the same terms as that of the jackal (or cat) in *Bilāra Jātaka*, above.

We come now to the classified stories, in the arrangement proposed above:

I. *Stories of ascetics who practise atrocities ex professo*

In *Bhavabhūti's Mālatīmādhava* a woman *Kapālakunḍalā*, wearing a garland of human skulls, kidnaps the heroine *Mālatī* in the dead of the night, and places her before the image of *Cāmuṇḍā* in a temple near the cemetery, to be killed and sacrificed to the goddess by the *Kāpālika Aghoraghaṇṭa*, *Kapālakunḍalā's* preceptor. She is rescued by the hero *Mādhava* who slays *Aghoraghaṇṭa*.

In *Daṣakumāracarita* ii, p. 41 ff. *Mantragupta* begins his adventures in a cemetery near the city of the *Kaliṅgas*. There he overhears a couple of demonic servitors complain that their rascally master, an evil but powerful wizard, was just then disturbing their love passages with an order to fetch for him *Kanakalekhā*, the daughter of *Kardana*, the king of the *Kaliṅgas*. *Mantragupta* comes upon this wizard who is a *Kāpālika*: his body is ornamented with glittering pieces of skulls; he is smeared with ashes of funeral fires; he wears braids that look like a streak of lightning; with his left hand he is sacrificing steadily into a fierce fire crackling sesame and mustard. In front of him stands one of the aforementioned servants with folded hands, saying: 'Issue your command; wherewith can I serve you?' He is told to fetch the princess *Kanakalekhā*, and does so. Frightened and in tears, she keeps crying, 'Woe me, father, woe me, mother,' as the *Kāpālika* holds her by her thick hair, upon which the garland has become crumpled and withered. As he is about to chop off her head with a stone-whetted sword, *Mantragupta*, quick as a flash, snatches the

²⁰ See Morris, *Folk-Lore Journal*, 2. 304.

sword out of his hands, cuts off his head with its thick matted hair, and throws it into the cleft of a hollow tree. The servitor is rejoiced at the death of his cruel master and offers gratefully to do Mantragupta's bidding. He tells him to carry the princess back to her home.

Tho the rest of the story involves the trick of a sham ascetic (class iv), and that too, the most ingenious one of all, we may record it in its own connection. In accord with the settled conventions of Hindu literature Kanakalekhā promptly falls in love with Mantragupta, and begs him, that has just saved her life, not to expose her to the danger of death from love. She invites him to come with her, relying on the tried discretion of her attendants. Mantragupta passes blissful days with her. Now her father, who happens to be sporting in a grove on the shore of the sea, is attacked and captured by the Andhra king Jayasiṅha. The latter then sues for Kanakalekhā's hand, tho he has been led to believe that she is possessed by a Yakṣa (demon) who allows no other man access. Mantragupta fetches the matted braids off the head of the Kāpālīka whom he has slain and, as sham ascetic, establishes for himself a great reputation, as sketched above. Jayasiṅha craves his magic, wherewith to drive out the Yakṣa. Mantragupta, pretending that the task presents great difficulties, asks for three days in which to prepare. These he uses to dig a cave connected with the shore of a lake. He then advises the king to dive into the lake and stay at the bottom as long as possible: he would then emerge from the lake in a rejuvenated and beautiful form, in the face of which the Yakṣa would retreat from the princess. Mantragupta hides in the cave; kills the king; stows him away in the cave; and, in the morning, presents himself on the throne as king Jayasiṅha rejuvenated.²¹ He marries the princess and releases her father.

Stories of wicked Kāpālīkas who intend to offer a human sacrifice frequently introduce a trick by which the intended victim asks the Kāpālīka 'to show him how'²² he must behave in order

²¹ Rejuvenation (quekbronn) and trick-rejuvenation (killing the person to be rejuvenated) are settled fiction motifs. Instances of the latter *Kathās.* 40. 61 ff.; *Daçakumāracarita* 3 (end of Upahāravarmā's story).

²² This important motif not only persists in the Kāpālīka stories, but occurs also in other spheres of narration; see, *e. g.* *Kathās.* 13. 91 ff.; South-

to be properly immolated. Thus Kathās. 38. 47 ff. a mendicant, named Prapañcabuddhi, presents every day a box to king Vikramāditya. One day the king drops the box which bursts open and discloses a jewel. On investigation all the previous boxes are found each to contain a jewel. The king asks the mendicant (here called gramaṇa, with slur on Buddhist monks) to explain his generosity. The mendicant replies: 'On the fourteenth day of the black fortnight²³ now approaching I have to perform a certain incantation at night-fall in a cemetery outside this town. I desire you, my hero, to take part, for obstacles are easily swept away by the aid of a hero.' The king consents, but at the appointed time the adorable Hari appears to him in a dream, saying: 'My son, this Prapañcabuddhi ('Deceitful-minded') is rightly named, for he means to offer you up as a victim. So do not do what he tells you to do, but say to him, you do it first, and when I have learned the way, I will do it. Then slay him, and you will obtain the power that he desires to obtain.' At the appointed time, the king, sword in hand, enters the cemetery where the Kāpālīka has just performed the 'circle incantation.' He welcomes the king with the words: 'King, close your eyes, and fall at full length on the ground face downwards, and in this way both of us will attain our ends.' The king answers: 'Do it yourself first. Show me how to do it, and after I have learned, I will do precisely as you do.' The foolish knave falls on the earth; Vikramāditya cuts off his head, and is rewarded with the power of going thru the air.

King Vikrama figures quite regularly in this Kāpālīka adventure. Thus in the version of Vikrama Carita as presented by Lescallier (*Le Trône Enchanté*, pp. 177 ff., xth story): King Bekemeradjet loses his way while hunting, meets an old woman about to load a bundle of fagots on her head, and essays to help her. Out of gratitude she tells him of a queen Abnouly, whom Bekemeradjet decides to find. He travels until he comes to a place which is studded with human skulls. One of them bursts out laughing;²⁴ the king asks, why this merriment? The head replies:

ern Textus Simplicior of Pañcatantra, ZMDG. 56. 32, 42; cf. Benfey, *Pañcatantra* 1, 113 ff., 609.

²³ For this date see Bhandarkar, *l. c.*, p. 118. In the Ambada story, *l. c.*, p. 56 the same date is given, but in the same story, p. 107, such a sacrifice is undertaken on the evening of the eighth day of the half-month.

²⁴ The laugh-motif: see *JAOS.* 36, pp. 79 ff.

‘ I laugh, because in a few hours your head will keep company with ours. A short distance from here lives a demon in the guise of a Djogui (Yogin). He addresses passers-by pleasantly, and tells them that he will show them a curious thing. He tells them to take an iron cauldron full of black peas, put it upon a fire, and let him know when it is boiling. Then the demon throws them into the cauldron, eats them, and throws the heads upon the ground.’²⁵ The skull then advises him to request the demon, at the crucial point, to show him how to do it, and to throw him into the kettle. Then he is to take some of the peas and scatter them upon the skulls; they will return to life, and become his servants. All this happens as prescribed, and, after other adventures, Vikrama, aided by his newly acquired friends, obtains the queen Abnoully. In Weber’s analysis of the mss. and contents of Vikrama Carita (Sinhāsana-dvātriṅṣikā) this story is given in Jainistic Sanskrit, and compared with the well-known climax in the widely propagated märchen of Hänsel und Gretel; ²⁶ see *Indische Studien* 15. 211, 215 ff., 235, 277 ff. The wizard here is a Digambara Yogin (with obvious dig at that Jaina sect); the reward of the king consists of the eight mahāsiddhi (Yoga arts), and a gold-man into which the body of the magician has turned.

The ‘show me how’ motif occurs once more in the Vetāla stories 24, 25; Kathās. 98. 69 ff.; 99. 15 ff.; Baitāl Pachīsī 25 (Oesterley, pp. 169, 180): The Vetāla, pleased with Vikrama’s courage in his attempts to fetch the corpse for the Kāpālīka, warns him: ‘That wicked mendicant for whom you have fetched this human corpse, wishing to offer you as a victim, will say to you: “King, prostrate yourself on the ground in such a way that eight limbs will touch it!” Then, great King, you must say to that ascetic: “Show me first how to do it, and I will do it as you do.” Then he will fling himself on the ground, and show you how to perform the prostration, and that moment you must cut off his head with the sword.’ In due course Vikrama cuts off the head of the ascetic, and he tears and gives the lotus of his heart out of his inside.

In Neogi, *Tales Sacred and Secular*, pp. 86 ff., the story is told

²⁵ The magician Rāudrākṣa decides to ask the ‘all-giving’ (sarvaṁdada) King Candraprabha for his head, in Divyāvadāna, p. 320; the king complies with his wish in the sequel.

²⁶ Cf. Benfey, *Pañcatantra* i. 256.

in the manner of Lescallier, interlaced with certain popular romantic motifs: A Yogin contracts with a childless king to procure for him children by each of his three wives, on the condition that one of the royal children shall be his. In proper time he carries off the youngest prince to his abode in the forest. While roaming there, the prince meets a fair damsel who informs him that the Yogin is a Tāntrika who offers human flesh to the goddess Kālī. She points to a mass of dead bodies whose heads laugh long and loud in his face. The Yogin conducts the prince to a cemetery, where an image is set up, and commands him to prostrate himself before the altar. The prince says: 'I am the son of a king, and do not know how to prostrate myself; show me how to do it.' The Tāntrika complies; the prince cuts off his head; the corpses all are made alive again by showering upon their heads flowers and bel-leaves from the altar; and the prince marries the damsel.

In Pāṛgyanātha Caritra 2. 199 ff. the pious prince Bhīma (Bhīmasena), who is traveling with his friend Matisāgara, is approached by a Kāpālīka who confides to him that he is in possession of a magic science (vidyā) called 'World-shaking' (bhuvanakṣobhinī), which he had cultivated for twelve years, but that it still requires a final performance in a cemetery. For this he needs Bhīma as his aid. Matisāgara warns Bhīma not to mix himself up with a rogue, but the prince, confident of his own virtue (dharma), persists in coöperating with the ascetic. They arrive at the cemetery, where the Kāpālīka, after drawing a circle and adoring some divinity, attempts to prepare Bhīma's hair-lock prior to cutting off his head. Bhīma sees thru the deceit, tells him that courage alone is his top-knot,²⁷ and to proceed with his business. The rogue then, realizing that his trick is not working, prepares to cut off Bhīma's head by force, and, by way of preliminary, makes the whole world shake by his terrible doings. Bhīma stands undaunted. The ascetic then promises that, if he will freely give his head, he will be born to bliss in the next world. In the end Bhīma jumps upon the shoulders of the Kāpālīka who flies up in the air and shakes Bhīma off. As he falls, a Yakṣiṇī (Siren) receives him in her folded hands, and takes him to her house. Later on Bhīma comes upon a temple of Kālikā (Durgā), built or adorned with men's bones, skulls etc., in whose centre stands a frightful

²⁷ mama sattvam eva cikhābandhaḥ.

image of the divinity. There he sees the Kāpālika holding Matī-sāgara by the hair, saying to him: 'Unhappy wretch, think now of thy favorite divinity,²⁸ before I cut off thy head in honor of this Kālikā!' Bhīma springs upon him, but just as he is about to kill him, Kālikā intercedes for her 'child' that is forever collecting skulls for her, the present being the 108th skull, by whose means she will fulfil her purpose. Bhīma, in true Jinistic spirit, spares the Kāpālika and converts Kālikā from her evil ways.

In Kathās. 26. 193 ff. Devadatta, a gambler of good family who has lost his all, resorts to a Mahāvratī, named Jālapāda, who proposes to help him if he will take part in a magic ceremony. He takes him to a cemetery, and bids him worship the tree-goddess Vidyutprabhā. While he does so, one day the tree bursts open, whereupon a nymph conducts him thru the middle of that tree to the goddess, whom he marries. Vidyutprabhā becomes pregnant, and the ascetic bids Devadatta cut her open and bring him the embryo. Naturally he refuses, but Vidyutprabhā herself performs the operation, in order to end a curse in consequence of which she, a Vidyādhārī, had been turned into a Yakṣī.²⁹ He carries the embryo to the ascetic, who eats it and turns into an air-going Vidyādhara. Devadatta realizes that he has been deceived by the ascetic, and engages a Vetāla,^{29a} in order to revenge himself. On the shoulders of the Vetāla he flies up to the palace of the Vidyādharas, where he finds the ascetic seated as king upon a jeweled throne, endeavoring to induce Vidyutprabhā, who has returned to her Vidyādhārī state, to marry him. He attacks and conquers the ascetic, but he spares his life. Durgā appears, expresses her admiration of his courage, and makes him Vidyādhara king. He is reunited with Vidyutprabhā; the Vetāla carries the ascetic back to earth, his splendor fallen from him.

In Pārçvanātha Caritra 3. 903 ff., quite exceptionally, a Vidyādhārī practices human sacrifice, in order to obtain a magic vidyā. It is not clear why a Vidyādhārī should do this, for she is by the very terms of her name a 'Science-holder.' There seems to be

²⁸ Frequent idea: see, e. g. Prabandacintāmaṇi (Tawney's Translation), pp. 32, 35, 123, 177.

²⁹ A demonic female inferior to the heaven-dwelling Vidyādhārī.

^{29a} A type of demonic being who often appears as servitor; so, e. g., Vikrama's vetāla, named Agniçikha, in Vikrama Carita, etc.

some displacement in the story, which runs as follows: King Hariṣcandra has by the decree of fate sunk to the station of caretaker of a cemetery. He hears there the lament of a woman, and, when he asks her why, she points to a noble man hanging head down from the branch of a banyan tree. The man turns out to be her husband, Mahāsenā, son of Candrāṣekhara, the ruler of the land, carried off by the Vidyādhari, who desires to sacrifice him in order that the science 'All-conquering' (viśvavaṣikāra-vidyā) may be kind and liberal to her. Hariṣcandra out of pity for the wife takes the place of the victim. The demoness begins to cut off Hariṣcandra's flesh, but the cry of a jackal arouses an ascetic who rages over the desecration of his hermitage, whereupon the Vidyādhari vanishes with her retinue.

II. *Stories of wicked ascetics smitten by love*

The preceding stories exhibit the ascetic in his quasi-legitimate pursuit of obtaining victims for his cruel divinity, and, generally speaking, a reward in the form of some kind of magic power. But ascetics are lewd as well as power-loving. Kāpālikas carry off maidens in Mallinātha Caritra 1. 72 ff.; Story of Ambaḍa, *l. c.*, p. 106. Bald, braided ascetics have to be kept from intercourse with the slave-girls of the harem; see Otto Stein, *Megasthenes und Kauṭilya*, p. 107; and according to Manu 7. 363 female ascetics are in similar disrepute.³⁰ Accordingly there is a settled type of story in which ascetics are smitten by the arrow of the bodiless god. Being, in theory, immune to the lure of women, and, therefore, ineligible as lovers and husbands, they are driven by their evil instincts to resort to some crafty device to obtain their end. The story gloats unctuously over their failure and discomfiture. In the following versions of one and the same story, the 'box-on-river' motif³¹ enters. In Kathās. 15. 30 ff., an ascetic described as

³⁰ See Bühler's note to his translation of this passage, *SBE.* 35, p. 317.

³¹ A preliminary bibliography of this important fiction theme may be stated briefly: Jacobi, *Das Mahābhārata*, pp. 13, 57; *ZDMG.* 65. 426, 438; 450; *Ind. Antiquary* 30. 297 (bis); Hertel, *Das Pāñcatantra*, p. 282; *Indische Märchen*, pp. 155, 201, 227; Translation of Kathāratnākara, vol. 2, p. 35; Translation of 'Kaufmann Tschampaka' (*Indische Erzähler*, Band 7, Leipzig, 1922), p. 23; Tawney, Translation of Kathāsaritsāgara, vol. 2, p. 629; Charpentier, *Paccekabuddhageschichten*, p. 125; Charlotte

‘silent’ (māunavrataḥ pravrajakaḥ) comes to a merchant’s house for alms, and sees there the merchant’s beautiful daughter. He breaks out in the exclamation, ‘Ah, alas, alas!’ Whereupon the merchant asks him why he, tho bound by silence, had said what he had said. The ascetic pretends to foresee that the marriage of the maid will destroy her father and his family. By request, he advises the merchant to place his daughter by night in a box, on the top of which there must be a light, and set her adrift on the Ganges. The merchant does so. The ascetic bids his pupils bring it secretly, but not to open it even if they hear a noise inside. In the mean time a prince goes to bathe in the river, fishes out the box, opens it, and immediately marries the heart-enchancing maid. And he sets the box adrift again on the Ganges, exactly as it was before, but placing a fierce monkey inside. The pupils bring the box to the ascetic, who pretends to be about to perform incantations with it. He takes the box to the top of a monastery, and when he opens it the monkey tears off his nose and ears, so that he becomes an object of derision. Essentially the same story in Kṣemendra’s *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* iii. 36 ff.

In *Kathākoṣa*, pp. 130 ff. a ‘handsome ascetic with matted hair,’ named Suṣarman, a sweet speaker, skilled in prognostics, dines one day with the merchant Gaṅgāditya who has two beautiful daughters, Jayā and Vijayā. He cannot eat for lusting after them. The merchant, on quizzing him, learns that his daughters will destroy the paternal family. The ascetic suggests their exposure in a box on the river, and the story develops on lines parallel with the preceding. Again this story, with names changed, occurs as the second of the *Bharatakadvaṭriṅgikā*. Hertel, *Pāla und Gopāla*, p. 70, reports from the *Pāpabuddhinṛpa-Dharmabuddhimantrikathā* an echo of the same idea: King Bhīmasena entertains an ascetic who falls in love with the king’s lovely daughter. By night he tries to visit her, and is impaled for his crime. The story is reported also from South-India (much changed and with extraneous additions) in *The Orientalist*, vol. 2, p. 146.

There are, next, two stories of the practices of lewd ascetics

Krause, *Die Abenteuer Ambaḍa’s* (*Indische Erzähler*, Band 4, Leipzig, 1922), p. 104; Kuṇāla Jātaka 536 (Fausböll, p. 444); *Dhammapada Commentary*, xxvi. 33^c; *Pañcīṣṭaparvan* 2. 224 ff.; *Kathākoṣa*, pp. 133 note, 148; Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 92; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*,

without the box-on-river device: Kathās. 121. 3 ff.; Mallinātha Caritra 1. 29 ff.:

In Kathās. 121. 3 ff. Madanamañjarī, daughter of Dundubhi, king of the Yakṣas, and wife of Maṇibhadra, brother of no less than the god Kuvera, is seen by a wicked Kāpālīka³² at the moment when she wakes from sleep in a garden of Ujjayinī. Consumed with love he goes to a cemetery to practise magic to draw her to him. Madanamañjarī, becoming aware of his intentions, complains to her husband who tells Kuvera, and he in turn complains to Brahmā. The supreme god advises her to invoke the paladin king Vikramāditya when she feels herself drawn along by the Kāpālīka's spell. She is, indeed, dragged by the spell, and reaches the cemetery in an agony of terror. The Kāpālīka goes off to rinse his mouth in a river near-by. Then she calls, 'Deliver me, noble king Vikramāditya! See, protecting talisman of the world, this Kāpālīka is bent on outraging by force, in your realm, me a chaste matron!' Vikramāditya summons his trusty servitor, the Vetāla Agniṣikha, who seizes the Kāpālīka by the legs, whirls him around in the air, and dashes him down on the earth, so as to crush at one blow his body and his aspirations.

The story Mallinātha Caritra 1. 29 ff. runs as follows: Prince Ratnacandra (or Ratnendu) wanders in a forest, where he hears the wails of a maiden. After appealing to father and mother she cries out: 'Ratnacandra, why do you not save me? A profet predicted to my father that you would become my husband. Are you asleep or confused in mind?' Ratnacandra runs up, sword in hand, and comes upon the maid, standing, bound hands and feet, by the side of a coal-basin, a karavīra wreath^{32a} upon her head. By her side stands a Kapālin ascetic (Yogin) with raised sword. After upbraiding the ascetic, who returns in kind, they come to blows, and the ascetic is killed.

Ratnacandra cuts the maiden's bonds. She tells him that she is Padmalocanā, daughter of king Caṅkha of Campā, by his wife Padmalekhā. When she has reached adolescence an augur, Ćubha

vol. i, p. 108; Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, p. 253; *The Orientalist*, vol. 2, p. 145 ff.

³² khaṇḍa-kāpālīka: the word khaṇḍa, which makes no real sense, suggest pākhaṇḍa = pāṣaṇḍa, 'hypocrite,' but this does not fit into the metre.

^{32a} The wreath of death: *AJPh.* 44. 228.

by name, reveals that she will marry Ratnacandra, son of the king of Candrapura. Her father promptly sends his Purohita, named Mitrabhūti, to sue for Ratnacandra. But the Kapālin, spying her at her lattice window, as she is playing with boy dolls, carries her off to the forest. She professes, further, to be in danger from a pupil of the Kapālin, gone to fetch fire-wood, and bids him take her away. They travel toward a mountain, are overtaken by night, and Ratnacandra puts her to sleep in the hollow of a bamboo-tree, and watches outside. The Kapālin's pupil fabricates by magic a back-door to the bamboo-tree, carries her off, and threatens her, the murderess of his Guru. She feigns to be in love with the pupil, but holds him in check by pretending that a friend of hers, Devagrī by name, is at a hermitage, and that the two of them had made a compact to marry the same man, who should then live in bliss with them, as Manmatha, the God of Love, lives with Prīti and Rati. The pupil brings her, held like a doe in the grip of a lion, to the hermitage, and is there beaten off by the fists and staffs of two ascetics. Padmalocanā returns home. Later Ratnacandra arrives at the same hermitage, and is told Padmalocanā's fate. He follows her and is duly married to her by king Ṣaṅkha, in accordance with the prediction of the augur.

Otherwise the type of lewd ascetic appears in Dhajaviheṭṭha Jātaka (391): A wizard ascetic stands by day in a cemetery on one foot, worshiping the sun. By night, using his magic, he flies up, enters the royal chamber, and corrupts the chief queen of the king of Benares. The queen herself goes to the king, and, after consulting with him, marks the ascetic with her five fingers in vermillion. The ascetic is recognized; the king thinks angrily that the Buddhist brethren in general go about by day in ascetics' garb and misconduct themselves by night. He, therefore, issues a proclamation by beat of drum that all Brethren must depart from his kingdom. As a result there are no righteous Buddhists or Brahmans to teach the people, and never get they birth in heaven. The Bodhisat who was then going thru an existence as Sakka in heaven descends and fetches a venerable Paccekabuddha whom he himself, in the guise of a young pupil, reveres ardently in the sight of the people of the city. The king is converted by having pointed out to him that there are true as well as sham ascetics, and that the merit of venerating the true leads to heaven.

III. *Stories of greedy, gluttonous, or otherwise vicious ascetics*

Greed for gold, gluttony, and sundry other vices are standard qualities of ascetics, monks, and other religious folk. In a group of related stories the object of ascetics' desire is a 'gold-man': if you cut off the limbs of such a 'gold-man' they grow again every day:³³ see Hemavijaya's Kathāratnākara, story 187 (Hertel's Translation, vol. 2, p. 195); Dharmacandra's Malayasundarikathoddhāra, translated by Hertel, *Indische Märchen*, pp. 235 ff.; and Charlotte Krause's, 'Die Abenteuer Ambada's,' *Indische Novellen* i (Leipzig 1922), pp. 106 ff.³⁴ For the point in hand it will suffice to report Hemavijaya's story: Prince Sudarçana and the lovely merchant's daughter Padmā, in mutual love, make an appointment outside town under a certain fig-tree. A serpent in the hollow of the tree, seeing Padmā's braid, thinks it another serpent, and bites Padmā in the head, so that she falls dead. Sudarçana gathers wood into a pyre, places Padmā's corpse upon it, and goes to get a burning fagot from a fire at a distance. At the fire sits a Yogin who perceives that Sudarçana has the 32 good characteristics, and decides to sacrifice him in the fire in order to obtain a gold-man. He engages the prince to help him, and ties a black thread around his neck which changes the prince into a serpent. In the meantime fate has it that a piece of 'snake-wort' has gotten into the funeral pyre of the princess; this frees her from the serpent's poison. When, alive again, she does not see the prince, she returns to the city, but is taken by the police under suspicion that she is a witch who is causing a pestilence, raging at that time among the children of the city. Brought before the king she asseverates her innocence, and offers to undergo either the fire ordeal, the water ordeal, or the serpent ordeal. The king decides upon the last. It happens that the serpent into which the prince has been turned by the wizard is brought for the purpose. In the presence of all the city she sticks her hand into the snake-pot. The serpent allows her to grasp him, as tho a garland of flowers. She removes the black thread around his hood, and lo, prince

³³ A preliminary collection of material for this interesting and universal motif in my *Life of Pārçvanātha*, p. 202.

³⁴ Obtaining the 'gold-man' is also one of the aims of the ascetic who induces King Vikrama to undertake the Vetāla adventure; see above.

Sudarçana, in all his glory, stands before the eyes of his father. Needless to say, the happy pair are united in wedlock. In the Ambaḍa story the Yogin actually succeeds in turning a king into a gold-man; in the Malayasundarī story the Yogin himself is finally turned into a gold-man.

Hemavijaya, story 40, tells of two rich brothers, Bhīma and Sīma, the latter of whom, against the former's protests, makes friends with an ascetic by the name of Sundara. Sundara invites Sīma, who wears much jewelry which the ascetic craves, to a feast, during which he sets before him a poisoned pancake. Bhīma, who has come there to protect Sīma, notices that a monkey defecates at the sight of the pancake—a sure sign that it is poisoned.³⁵ Bhīma dissolves the poisoned pancake in water and shows that it contains poison, beats the ascetic, and drives him out of the village.

Hemavijaya's clever story, 69, has it in, once more, for money-greedy ascetics: A Brahman, named Gaṅgādatta, in possession of five jewels, arrives at the city Dambhadatta, from which he wishes to make a pilgrimage to an idol of Baladeva, situated upon the mountain Tuṅgagiri. He, therefore, looks for some person with whom he may leave the jewels in trust, until his return. Various people notice him. A merchant selling butter to a servant maid gives her overweight; her mistress sends back the surplus by the same maid, who then says in the presence of the Brahman: 'We do not accept overweight of butter.' The Brahman thinks he will make that honest woman fiduciary, and goes to her house.

While there a pupil of a Yogin comes to beg. The woman, in order to gain the Brahman's confidence, gives the pupil excessive alms, which he brings to his teacher. The teacher, guessing that she is displaying virtue before a stranger, sends back the excessive alms. When the Brahman notices this he deposits his jewels with the Yogin. On the return from his pilgrimage the Yogin denies the deposit.³⁶ A hetaera named Smarasundarī, hearing him be-

³⁵ Two interesting stanzas describe the behavior of a large number of animals at the sight of poisoned food. In them figures the cakoraka bird (partridge) whose eyes turn red on such occasions. This bird is kept regularly in royal households, to prevent the poisoning of kings; see, *e. g.*, Samarādityasaṁkṣepa 4. 338; Çalibhadra Caritra 5. 167.

³⁶ This trick is not uncommon; *e. g.*, in Campakaçreṣṭhikathānakam; see last Hertel, *Indische Erzähler*, vol. 7, p. 48 ff., where this same story is told in a much changed and amplified form.

wail his loss, decides to help him. She bids the Brahman come to the house of the Yogin after she herself has gone there. She fills five beautiful trunks with bones, carefully locks them, and has them taken to the Yogin, to whom she says: 'To-day I have received the news that my ships have been wrecked, and I am afraid that my creditors will seize all my property; please, therefore, keep these five trunks for me.' At that point the Brahman arrives and asks for his jewels. The Yogin, deciding to hold on to the trunks, hands back the Brahman his jewels.

Covetous ascetics figure widely in Buddhist narrative. In Somanassa Jātaka (505) a troop of ascetics has been entertained by king Reṇu. On returning to the Himālayas to their austerities they converse about the childlessness of the king, and their leader, Mahārakkhita, predicts that a son of the gods will descend and be conceived by Sudhammā, the queen consort, on that very night. One in their midst runs back and tells the king. The king assigns to him a place in his park, as one of the king's household. The queen bears a prince, Somanassa Kumāra. Now the sham ascetic plants vegetables, pot-herbs, and runners, sells them in the market, and amasses wealth. When the prince (Bodhisat) is seven years old, the king goes out to quell a rebellion. The prince surprises the ascetic with his garments rolled up, holding a water-jar in each hand, watering his plants. He rebukes him, and goes off without salute. The king also, in time, is convinced of the ascetic's worldliness. The prince determines that, as long as there is an ignorant fool in the king's household, the best thing to do is to go to the Himālayas, and embrace the religious life.

In Kuhaka Jātaka (89) a shifty rascal of an ascetic, of the class which wears long, matted hair, lives in a certain village. The squire of the village builds for him a hut, and feeds him at his own house. Afraid of robbers, the squire brings 100 pieces of gold to the hermitage, there buries them, and asks the ascetic to keep watch over them. The ascetic digs up the gold, buries it by the wayside, and, next day, says to the squire: 'It is now a long time, Sir, since I began to be supported by you, and to live in one place is like living in the world'—which is forbidden to professed ascetics. He departs, but returns after a little, and, when asked by the squire for the reason, he says: 'A straw from your roof, sir, has stuck in my hair; and, as we ascetics may not take any-

thing which is not bestowed upon us, I have brought it back to you.' A traveling trader (Bodhisat) overhears, becomes suspicious, cross-examines the squire, and is told about the 100 pieces. When they do not find them in their place, they pursue, catch, and punish the hypocrite.³⁷

In addition to covetousness Buddhist texts reprobate gluttony and its attendant rude manners or even cruelties by means of stories in which figure ascetics that are so only in name.³⁸ In *Komāyaputta Jātaka* (299) there are some frivolous ascetics in the *Himālayas* who keep fetching fruits to eat from the forest, and afterwards spend their time laughing and joking together. They also keep a monkey, rude-mannered like themselves, which furnishes them no end of amusement by his grimaces and his antics. When they go away to get salt and condiments, the Bodhisat, in the person of a young Brahman ascetic, lives in their dwelling. He teaches the monkey to behave properly, whereat the other ascetics, when they return, are intrigued. Both Bodhisat and monkey reprove them. Similarly in *Ambacora Jātaka* (344) a knavish ascetic builds a hut in a mango orchard, eats the fruit, and gains his livelihood by various worldly practices. The Bodhisat in the person of Sakka knocks down the fruit, makes out that they have been plundered by thieves, and drives the sinner from the place. In *Godha Jātaka* (138) a weak-kneed ascetic in a hermitage conceives the desire to eat lizard-flesh properly seasoned. A lizard

³⁷ Cf. the faintly assonant story, *Kathās*. 33. 133 ff., where a strange Brahman arrives in *Crāvastī*, and, because he lives on rice in the husk, is made much of by the merchants of that city. He accumulates 1000 *dīnārs* which he buries under a tree. Some one digs up his treasure, but it is restored by the king's device.

³⁸ This type of story is certainly characteristic of Buddhist fiction and morality, as contrasted with both Brahmanical and Jaina narrative, which says little, if anything, about gluttonous ascetics. The story *Tantrākhyāyika* 2. 1 tells how the monk *Jūṭakarna*, 'Braid-at-the-ear' (in other versions *Tāmracūḍa*, etc.) hangs up high his alms pot full of cooked food, and lies half awake during the night swinging a bamboo rod to protect the pot from marauding mice. He is reproved by his guest *Bṛhatsphij* who is sleeping on the same couch with himself, and to whose narrative of wanderings he is giving but half an ear on account of his preoccupation with the alms pot. The Jaina *Yatis* are abstemious *ex professo*: starvation is the prime method which they employ to destroy their karma. It would be a contradiction in terms for them to be greedy for food.

neighbor (the Bodhisat) approaches him as he is sitting at the door of his hut with a mallet hidden under his yellow robe. Snuffing up the wind blowing towards him from the hermit's cell, the Bodhisat smells lizard's flesh which the ascetic has previously eaten, and retires. The ascetic throws his mallet at the lizard, hitting the tip of his tail, and is rebuked in a stanza which describes a typical hypocritical ascetic. Very like is another Godha Jātaka (325). Again in Romaka Jātaka (277) another weak brother obtains some pigeon flesh, is taken with its flavor, and decides to kill the pigeons picking food about his cave. He hides a staff in his robe, and sits down in front of his cave. But the Bodhisat, born among the pigeons, spies out the wicked thing the ascetic would be at, and warns the flock away. The hermit tries words of honey, but the Bodhisat tells him that he is found out. The ascetic throws his staff at the Bodhisat, misses, and exclaims: 'I've missed you!' 'You have missed me, but you shall not miss the four hells. If you stay here, I shall call the villagers.' The ascetic moves away. This last Jātaka is the source of the 10th story in the Siamese Paksi Pakaranam; see Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 349. More elaborately Tittira Jātaka (438)³⁹ turns against the Bhikkhus' besetting sin of gluttony: A learned partridge, after the death of a Teacher in the Himālaya mountains, takes upon himself the instruction of his pupils. The pupils, invited home by their parents to a festival, leave the partridge, who lives in a golden cage, in the care of a lizard. A wicked ascetic comes there, kills the partridge, two children of the lizard, a cow, and a calf, eats them, and lies grunting, asleep at the foot of a tree. A tree sprite tells the lizard, distressed over the loss of his children, to bite the ascetic in the neck while he is asleep. The lizard is afraid to do so, but a tiger and a lion, friends of the partridge, come there and find some of the feathers of the partridge in the matted locks of the ascetic, whereupon the tiger tears him to pieces. This Jātaka is the source of the 13th story in the Siamese Paksi Pakaranam; see Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 349.

In a yet more vivid story, Vaddhaki-Sūkara Jātaka (283)⁴⁰ a carpenter who happens to have found a young boar in a pit takes

³⁹ Cf. *Folk-Lore Journal* 3. 34.

⁴⁰ Cf. Jātaka 492; *Folk-Lore Journal* 4. 38; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. 1, pp. 370 ff.

him home, brings him up, and teaches him many accomplishments. In time the carpenter, afraid that somebody might make a feast of the boar, returns him to the forest where he soon joins his kind. His relatives are living in great terror of a tiger which keeps decimating them day by day. Then the young boar teaches the other boars to fight in serried mass, scientifically, in the three kinds of battle-array called *padumavyūho* 'lotus array,' *cakkavyūho*, 'wheel array,' and *sakaṭavyūho*, 'wagon array,' so that the tiger becomes afraid. He consults a wicked ascetic who is in the habit of sharing the tiger's prey. The ascetic encourages him: 'One roar, and one spring will frighten the boars out of their wits, and send them helter-skelter!' The tiger makes the attack, but falls into a pit dug under the instructions of the trained boar, and is eaten up. The boars, still uneasy about the ascetic who may send other tigers after them, are led by their general against him. He climbs a tree, but by the strategy of their leader the tree is brought to a fall, and the ascetic, in turn, is eaten by the boars.

An impressive account of a wicked ascetic who practises treachery upon a confiding friend, apparently for treachery's sake, is furnished by *Paṇḍara Jātaka* (512): The ascetic is known by the name of the *Karambiya* ascetic; as such he is honored and pampered by the people. Also, both a snake king, whose name is *Paṇḍara*, and a *Garuḍa* bird king come to pay their respects to him. One day the *Garuḍa* appeals to the sham religious to help him in his people's fights (based on congenital enmity) against the serpents. The ascetic consents to wheedle out of the serpent king the secret of his success. With some effort, and promising discretion, he persuades *Paṇḍara* to tell him that the serpents make themselves heavy by swallowing a stone. The *Garuḍas* seize the serpents by the head, and, while they try to lift them up, the water streams from them, and they drop dead. If but the foolish creatures would seize them by the tail, the stone would drop out, and they would carry the serpents off. Thereupon the *Garuḍa* seizes *Paṇḍara* by the tail, and flies up in the air with him. During this flight *Paṇḍara*, sorely lamenting, excoriates in eight stanzas of poetry the treachery of the unscrupulous sham. As the result of reciprocal wise and moral saws, bird and snake are reconciled. *Paṇḍara* then seizes the ascetic: his head splits, and he goes to the *Avīci* hell.

Finally, in *Setaketu Jātaka* (377) the worldly behavior of a band of ascetics, instructed by a Brahman by the name of *Setaketu* (*Çvetaketu*), is rebuked. When the king proposes to salute them *Setaketu* tells them that by conciliating kings a man may live happily all the years of his life. He then tells some of them to do the swinging penance, etc., as described above. They are rebuked and refuted by the king's family priest, and turned into laymen with shields and weapons, as Superior Officers attendant on the king's person. The *Jātaka* is reminiscent of the *Upaniṣads*: Before turning ascetic *Setaketu* has been instructed and humiliated by a *Caṇḍāla* whom he is trying to condemn, but who is wiser than himself, a Brahman.⁴¹ This *Caṇḍāla*, who has previously overcome *Setaketu* in a *brahmodya* contest, rather echoes *Satyakāma*, the son of *Jabālā* in *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 4. 4.

IV. *Stories of rogues who sham asceticism*

In the preceding stories we deal with professional ascetics, either practising the permissible cruel rites of their particular sect, or recreant to their implied vows of chastity, greedlessness, or rectitude in general. In addition a wide field of story opportunity presents itself in the performances of a large class of rogues who, in real life, assume the guise of ascetics under which they conveniently practise forbidden trades, or carry out nefarious schemes. Thieves and robbers regularly carry on their operations in the dress-up of ascetics and mendicants; see, e. g. *Pārçvanātha Caritra* 8. 139, and see my essay on the 'Art of Thieving,' *AJPh.* 44. 121. How the thieves *Çiva* and *Mādhava* employ this device in *Kathās.* 24. 82 ff. to pass off fake jewels, as a sort of gold brick, on the greedy but unsuspecting *Purohita* of the king of *Ujjayinī*, is told there on pp. 210 ff., being an excellent, tho rather extreme illustration of sham asceticism.

In *Hemavijaya*, *Kathāratnākara*, story 2 (Hertel's Translation, vol. 1, p. 10), a particularly precious rascal of fake ascetic persiflages the profession of ascetic, who must not do injury to living things; must not drink and be lecherous; must be informed with kindness (*māitri*); must not be trickster, gambler or thief, as follows: King *Çreṇika* sees this sham ascetic, his upper garment

⁴¹ Cf. Fick, *Die Sociale Gliederung im nordöstlichen Indien*, pp. 26 ff.

loose, catching fish, and the following repartee ensues between the two: 'Your garment, Teacher, is loose!'—'It serves me as net to catch fish with.'—'You eat fish?'—'As food with brandy.'—'You drink brandy?'—'With the harlot.'—'You go to the harlot?'—'After having placed my foot on the necks of my enemies.'—'You have enemies?'—'Because I am a rascal.'—'You are a thief?'—'In order to be able to gamble.'—'You are a gambler; how is that possible?'—'Oh, I am a whoreson.'

In this way it may come to pass that really sincere ascetic devotees are occasionally suspected of sham without any reason, paying the penalty for the ill savor of the profession. In *Kathās*. 24. 205 ff. the Brahman ascetic Harasvāmin, living in a hut on the shore of the Ganges, has gained the people's respect by his surprisingly rigid asceticism. A wicked man who cannot tolerate his virtue, seeing him from a distance, as he is on his way to beg, cries out: 'Do you know what a hypocritical ascetic that is? It is he that has eaten up all the children in this town!' As this rumor spreads the Brahmins, afraid that their offspring will be destroyed, decide to banish him, and send word to that effect. Harasvāmin, astonished, goes to the Brahmins to reassure them, but they flee up to the top of their monastery. From below he calls the Brahmins one by one by name and says to them: 'What delusion is this, Brahmins? Why do you not ascertain how many children I have eaten, and whose?' The Brahmins compare notes, and find that all their children are alive.⁴² With difficulty Harasvāmin is prevailed upon to live with this people.

The impressive story of Maṇḍavya-of-the-Peg, in *Kaṇhadīpāyana Jātaka* (444), shows us a guileless and high-minded ascetic, who falls under suspicion, when a thief, pursued hotly, deposits his loot by his side. Condemned and impaled, his noble spirit saves him from ill-feeling against those who had seized him, or the king who had judged him rashly. A friend of his, *Dīpāyana*, sits down by the stake, because the shadow of one so virtuous is delightful,

⁴² This motif, which may pass under the name 'Dame Rumor,' is frequent and important. It begins with *Mahābhārata* (Jacobi, p. 48). See also *Kathās*. 67. 54; *Pārṣvanātha* 2. 557; 8. 153; *Kalyāṇadhamma Jātaka* (171); *Daddabha Jātaka* (322); *Divyāvadāna*, p. 585; Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 296; Hemavijaya, *Kathāratnākara*, story 133 (rumor that one has died).

and is sprinkled with drops of blood from the sufferer on the stake. He is afterwards released from his torture. See *AJPh.* 44. 124 ff.

A favorite type of sham asceticism shows an ardent lover assuming the ascetic's guise, in order to win or carry off his lady love. We have encountered this fase once, above in the story of Mantragupta, Daçakumāracarita ii. 41 ff. In Kathās. 75. 59 ff., Vetālapañcaviṅcati 1, Prince Vajramukūṭa, while hunting, comes to a lake where he sees a beautiful maiden, Padmāvati, with whom he promptly falls in love. The maiden signals to him that the shafts of the God of Love have struck her as well. By means of a go-between and the devices of his fidus Achates, the minister's son Buddhaçarīra, he obtains access to the maiden's chamber, and marries her by the Gandharva rite. It is now question of getting the newly married wife away from her home, where she is guarded jealously. Buddhaçarīra advises the prince to repair to Padmāvati's palace by night, get her drunk, steal her jewels, and then mark her hip with a red-hot spike. The pair then disguise themselves, Buddhaçarīra as an ascetic; Vajramukūṭa as his disciple. Vajramukūṭa takes Padmāvati's necklace to the market to sell for an exorbitant price, which no one will pay. He is, as intended, arrested by the police, and accounts for the necklace by saying that his spiritual preceptor gave it to him. Buddhaçarīra, the fake ascetic, is cited before the magistrate. He pretends that he had seen one night in the cemetery a band of witches; that one of them attacked him; that he took from her the necklace and branded her. The necklace is recognized as belonging to Padmāvati; she is therefore regarded as a witch, and banished from the city. The prince in this way is enabled to carry her off.

Essentially the same story occurs twice more, in Daçakumāracarita, ii. 36 ff., and in Kathākoça pp. 152 ff., but in the last without the ascetic device.⁴³ In Daçakumāracarita a rake by the name of Kalahakanṭhaka ('Quarrel-thorn') falls in love with Nitambavati, the wife of an elderly merchant of Ujjayinī, named Anantakīrti. He obtains the position of care-taker of the cemetery, and

⁴³ Charging a woman with being a Rākṣasī by the trick just described, or by smearing her mouth with blood, and by other devices is a frequent motif, to be elaborated in the future. So below, p. 240; the note on p. 98 of my 'Life of Pārçvanātha'; Tawney's Translation of Kathāsaritsāgara, i. 576; ii. 631; Hertel, *Indische Märchen*, p. 241 (cf. p. 287).

from there sends an elderly Jaina nun (ṣramaṇikā or nirgranthikā), named Arhantikā, as love's messenger to Nitambavatī. He pretends to be a holy man, able to procure offspring for her: she must come that night to a grove and place her foot in his hand, whereupon he would pronounce charms over it which would procure the desired result. Nitambavatī does so; the fake ascetic pulls an anklet from her foot, marks her thigh with a knife, and runs off. The rogue then offers the anklet to her husband for sale. When he suspects his wife the rogue claims that he, while on attendance in the cemetery, had on the previous night seen a beautiful woman drag a corpse from a pyre. He had leapt upon her, had accidentally scratched her with his knife, and she had then fled, dropping the anklet. Nitambavatī is thus convicted of being a witch (ṣākinī), is exiled, and attempts to hang herself by night in the cemetery. There Kalahakaṇṭha falls at her feet, reveals the plot which he has executed for the love of her, and induces her, who has no other refuge, to consent to his wishes.

Greed is ever akin to lust, and meets with the same kind of punishment. In Kāsāva Jātaka (221) a poor man of Benares, seeing ivory workers in the ivory bazaar making bangles and trinkets, decides to become an ivory-hunter. He takes a weapon, clothes himself in a yellow robe, puts on the guise of Pacceka-buddha, with a covering band about his head, and takes his stand in the path of a large troop of elephants, as one of whom the Bodhisat had come into the world. He keeps on slaying, day by day, the last of the troop, so that they become fewer and fewer. The Bodhisat perceives the reason. So, one day, he sends the other elephants ahead of him, and follows after. The fake ascetic makes a rush at him with his weapon. The Bodhisat stretches out his trunk to kill, but seeing his yellow ascetic's robe, he rebukes him both in prose and poetry, and bids him never come there again, else he should die for it.

A graphic description of a robber chief, who operates in the make-up of a Pāṇupata ascetic, is furnished by the story of Aḡaḡadatta, stanzas 208 ff.⁴⁴ Aḡaḡadatta meets in his travels a splendid Pāṇupata ascetic whose get-up has been described above. The ascetic offers to travel with Aḡaḡadatta to Saṅkhaṇḍa to visit the places of pilgrimage. He offers to put some gold in Aḡaḡadatta's

⁴⁴See Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī*, p. 80, lines 1 ff.

keeping, whereupon they travel together. But Agadaḍatta has his suspicions. When they come to a forest the ascetic pretends that certain rich cowherds, his friends, will show them hospitality. The Paṇḍapata goes off, and returns with pails filled with poisoned rice in milk, ghee, and sour milk. Agadaḍatta pleads indisposition and declines to eat, at the same time warning his companions by a sign. But they eat the poisoned viands, and fall unconscious. Then the ascetic discharges a shower of arrows upon Agadaḍatta, which he dodges, in his turn hitting the ascetic with a crescent-headed arrow. He falls to the ground, and before expiring, confesses that he is the invincible robber Dujjohaṇa, and then instructs him how he may obtain his beautiful wife and treasures in a cave.⁴⁵

Rarely the guise of ascetic is assumed for a good purpose. In the Bambhadatta story, Jacobi, *l. c.*, p. 10, lines 6 ff., Varadhaṇu rescues his mother who has been banished to a Caṇḍāla village by assuming the dress of a Kāpālīka, and deceiving the village magistrate.

V. *Stories of animals in the beast fable which sham asceticism*

The type of hypocritical animal ascetic is set once for all by the story of the ascetic cat in Mahābhārata 5. 160. 15-43 = 5421-49, told there with epic breadth and unction. The cat, no longer in business (niṣeṣṭaḥ sarvakarmasu), stands, with forepaws held high, on the shore of the Ganges, professing to have attained mental purity (manaḥuddhi), and preaching. The cat's fame as an ascetic is spread far and wide by the birds which he has been in the habit of eating; indeed they entrust the care of their young to his keep. Then the mice, realizing that they are beset by many enemies, come there, thinking that a protecting 'Uncle' (mātula) has arisen unto them in the person of the cat. The cat accepts the office, but, feigning exhaustion from ascetic practices, induces the mice to conduct him to the river to perform his lustrations. Gradually the cat grows fatter and fatter; the number of the mice keeps dwindling. A mouse named Diṇḍika offers to act as rear guard for the mice, but is never heard of again. At last an

⁴⁵ For more tricks of thieves and robbers gotten up as ascetics, see *AJPh.* 44. 121.

old mouse Kokila by name tells the mice that their 'Uncle' is a deceiver and that long-haired animals are never vegetarians, whereupon the mice scutter away.⁴⁶

The fable recurs as Bilāra Jātaka (128) in whose prose a jackal figures in the place of the cat. Both title and introductory stanza show that the original version also intends a cat. The Bodhisat is born among a troop of rats. The jackal takes up his stand near their home and shams ascetism, here described with great humor (see above). Morning and evening the rats come to pay their respects to the saintly jackal, and, as they depart, he always catches and devours the last of the troop, wipes his lips, and looks as tho nothing had happened. As the rats grow fewer and fewer, the Bodhisat suspects, places himself in the rear, and when the jackal makes a spring at him, exclaims, 'So this is your saintliness, you hypocrite and rascal,' springs at his throat and bites his windpipe asunder. Back troop the other rats and gobble up the body of the jackal with a 'crunch, crunch, crunch.' This is the source of Siamese Paksi Pakaranam xv, summarized by Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 350. It occurs also in the Gujarāṭi Pañcākhyānavārttika, nr. 6; see Hertel, *ibid.* p. 140 (with bibliographic notes).

The story is treated a second time, with a jackal as sham ascetic, in Aggika Jātaka (129). Both Jātakas are clever in their descriptions of the antics played by the hypocritical animal in his rôle. In the present instance the jackal happens to have all the hair singed off his body by a forest-fire, except for a tuft like a scalp-knot which makes him look like a Buddhist brother. 'At last I've got wherewithal to go to market,' he exclaims, and assumes the part of Bharadvāja, votary of the Fire-God. This accidental preparation is probably borrowed from the fable of the blue jackal. The story is again told of a cat, named Agniya, in Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 344.

In Pañcatantra 3. 2 (Kosegarten and Bühler-Kielhorn; Tantrākhyāyika 3. 4; Pūrṇabhadra 3. 3, etc.) a cat, variously named,⁴⁷ arbitrates the quarrel of a partridge and a hare. During a pro-

⁴⁶ For Western relations of this fable see Benfey, *Das Pañcatantra*, 1. 352; cf. Weber, *Indische Studien*, 3. 365.

⁴⁷ The original name was unquestionably Dadhikarna, 'Curd-ear' (retained in Southern Pañcatantra α, Pūrṇ., and Kṣemendra); see Edgerton, *Panchatantra Reconstructed*, 2, p. 163.—F. E.

longed absence of the partridge from his habitat, the hollow of a fig-tree, a hare occupies his home. When the partridge returns, plump from eating much rice, he arraigns the hare as an usurper. The hare defends his squatter's rights so tenaciously that they finally decide to submit their case to the arbitrament of an ascetic cat. This feline is living on an island of the holy Ganges in penance, asceticism, vows, and profound meditation, full of pity for living creatures. The outward behavior of this cat is as described above (p. 232). The disputants try to present their case from a distance, but the cat invites them to his bosom, because he is old and somewhat deaf. They so seat themselves, whereupon he seizes one of them with his claw, the other with his saw-like fangs, and kills them. Once more the cat figures as sham ascetic in *Hitopadeṣa* 1. 5: A blind vulture, *Jaradgava*, living on a fig-tree, is supported by alms of the other birds. The cat *Dirghakarna* comes there to eat the young of the birds, but is frightened at the sight of *Jaradgava*. The cat shams asceticism: 'I live there on the shore of the Ganges, constantly take baths, abstain from meat, and am practising the vow of chastity, called *cāndrāyana*. There the birds are ever lauding you (namely, *Jaradgava*), as versed in religion and wisdom; therefore I am come to hear you preach the law.' *Dirghakarna*, having thus established his character, remains living in the hollow of the tree and feasts upon the young of the birds, until the birds become suspicious. Then he flees. When the birds find the hollow full of the bones of their young they unite in an attack upon *Jaradgava*, and kill him.

That greater feline, the tiger, also does not disdain to enact the role of sham ascetic. In *Hitopadeṣa* 1. 3 a tiger shamming asceticism on the shore of a lake holds out a golden bracelet, offering it as a free gift to a passing wayfarer. After a to and fro of suspicion on the part of the traveler, and cant on the part of the tiger, the former enters the lake to bathe prior to receiving the bracelet, sinks into its marshy bottom, and is consumed by the tiger.

In one instance a Buddhist text adroitly employs the motif to show that it requires character to sustain the life of a holy ascetic; he who tries and falls short lays himself open to the charge of hypocrisy. In *Vaka Jātaka* (300) a wolf living on a rock by the Ganges, happening to be surrounded by the winter-floods, decides

to play ascetic⁴⁸ by undergoing an uposatha, or sabbath fast (which in this instance is compulsory, be it noted). The god Sakka (the Bodhisat), sensing his hypocrisy, takes the shape of a wild goat and tantalizes the wolf, who thinks he will make a sabbath of another kind of the goat, by jumping about him, and keeping just out of reach. The wolf lies down, saying, 'Well, my sabbath is not broken after all!' Sakka reveals himself to him and chides him with wise saws: 'Persons in this world of ours that make resolves beyond their power swerve from their purpose, as did the wolf as soon as he saw the goat appear.'

More baldly and mechanically three Jātakas show a monkey as sham ascetic, illustrating false Brothers and rogues in general. In Makkatā Jātaka (173) a widowed anchorite warms himself by the fire, his young son by his side. It is rainy and cold. A monkey outside spies the fire, but is afraid that he will be ejected, if he goes inside. So he puts on the bark dress of a dead anchorite, lifts his basket and crooked stick, and takes his stand by the hut door. The boy asks his father to invite him in. But the father (Bodhisat) recognizes him as a monkey, and scares him off with a fire-brand. The same story with different embroidery in Kapi Jātaka (250). In Ādiccupatṭhāna Jātaka (175) the antics of a sham ascetic monkey are described with real tho rather cliché humor (putting on the airs of a holy man, seeking alms, and worshiping the sun). The people think, 'There is no tribe of animals but hath its virtuous one: see how this wretched monkey here stands worshiping the sun!' He is exposed by the Bodhisat and driven away.

From olden times comes also the preaching haṁsa bird, Mahābh. 2. 41. 30 ff. = 1463 ff., whom the other birds finally find out and kill (see above, p. 210). A single other bird, a 'traveled crow,'⁴⁹ is exhibited in this rôle, in Dhammadhaja Jātaka (384). Certain merchants get a traveled crow, start on a voyage, and are wrecked. The crow reaches an island, and exclaims: 'Here is a great flock of birds, I can eat their eggs and young.' He alights, and shams asceticism very elaborately, preaching a sermon. The birds put their young and eggs in his charge. When they go to their

⁴⁸ This is, without figure of speech, 'the wolf in the monk's cassock'; see *Mahāvagga* i. 31. 3 ff.; *Folk-Lore Journal* 3. 359; Morris in *Contemporary Review* 29. 739.

⁴⁹ Cf. Bāveru Jātaka (339).

feeding ground, the crow eats their eggs and young. The birds' leader (Bodhisat) suspects, hides, and catches him in the act. Under his direction the birds fall upon the crow and kill him.

VI. *Stories of wicked female ascetics*

The atmosphere of suspicion and dislike which surrounds the person of the male ascetic settles also, to a certain extent, upon the nun or female ascetic.⁵⁰ There are, to be sure, sincere and disinterested persons of this kind, as when queen Dhanavatī in *Kathās*. 107. 63 is described as a strict votary, possessing divine knowledge, wearing the rosary, and drest in the skin of the black antelope. However in Brahmanical writings the word *parivrājikā* or *çramanikā*, 'nun,' refers, as a rule, to Buddhist or Jainist sisters, and is not conceived in a friendly spirit. These appear almost invariably as bawds or go-betweens, minor figures in love's drama. Sometimes they are engaged in independent, magic practices, but this field is, in the main, preëmpted by witches, called *Rākṣasī*, *Çākinī*, *Dākinī* etc.

A single time the conflict between ascetic profession and worldly inclination on the part of a Jaina nun is described impressively, but with hostile intention against the extreme rigors of the Jain heresy, in *Kuṇāla Jātaka* (536; Fausböll 5. 427 ff.). The entire *Jātaka* is a diatribe on the instability of womankind. A white nun (*setasamanī*, i. e. a *Çvetāmbara* Jaina nun), named *Saccatapāvī*, 'True Ascetic,' lives in a hut of leaves in a cemetery, in severe fast, worshipping the sun, so much honored by the people that if any one stumbles, sneezes, or vomits, the evil omen is averted by exclaiming, 'Hail to *Saccatapāvī*.' A party of goldsmiths⁵¹ come into her neighborhood for a drunken carouse in the woods. One of the goldsmiths, in vomiting, says, 'Hail to *Saccatapāvī*,' but is rebuked by a wise man in their midst: 'Alas, blind fool, you are paying honor to a fickle-minded woman!' He then lays a wager for a thousand crowns, that, on the seventh day, seated in this very spot, he will deliver *Saccatapāvī* in gay apparel, merry with strong drink. Disguised as an ascetic, he makes his

⁵⁰ Cf. *Manu* 8. 363; *Hemavijaya*, *Kathāratnākara*, story 2 (Hertel's Translation, vol. i, p. 11).

⁵¹ Goldsmiths are in evil repute; see the author in *AJPh.* 44. 106 ff.

way into the cemetery, and stands worshipping the Sun not far from the nun's abode. After first repelling her advances, he gradually tricks her into friendly relations, to the point where the following conversation takes place: 'Sister, have you attained to a holy calm?' 'I have not, Sir. Have you?' 'Neither have we. We get, Sister, neither the joy of sensual pleasure, nor the bliss of renunciation. What is it to us that hell is hot? Let us follow in the way of the multitude: I will become a house-holder prosperous with my inheritance from my mother.' They take up with one another; he brings her to the city; plies her with drink; hands her over to his friends the worse for liquor; and wins his bet.

Far more degraded, nay villainous is the conduct of that nun whose names are respectively given as Sundarī or Ciñcā Māṇavikā in the stories of the present, introductory to Jātakas 285 and 472.⁵² It is not stated expressly anywhere whether this sister or wandering nun was Buddhist or Jaina, but more likely she is regarded as being of the latter persuasion, because she performs her atrocious service in the interest of heretics. Namely, these are jealous of the gain and honor that are being bestowed upon the Exalted One, the monk Gotama. Now Ciñcā Māṇavikā was fair, and full of grace; from her body shone rays of brilliancy. The heretics decide to cast thru her reproach upon Gotama, and she falls in with their scheme.

When the residents of Savatthi are returning from Jetavana, where they have been listening to Gotama's exposition of the Law, she walks in the direction of Jetavana dressed in a robe dyed in cochineal, and with fragrant garlands in her hands. Asked where she is going she replies, 'What have you to do with my goings and comings?' She spends the night in the heretics' monastery near Jetavana, and in the morning meets the people as tho she had spent the night in Jetavana itself. This she keeps doing for six weeks, at the end of which, when again asked, she declares that she has spent the night in Jetavana, with Gotama, the ascetic, in one fragrant cell. When three or four months have gone by, she wraps her belly with bandages, and goes about saying that she has conceived a child by the monk Gotama. When eight or nine

⁵² These stories occur also in Dhammapada Comm. 22. 1 and 13. 9. See Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, vol. 3, pp. 189 ff. and 19 ff. with valuable bibliographical notes.

months have gone by, she fastens a disk of wood to her belly; pounds her arms and feet and back with the jawbone of an ox until they are swollen; and acts as tho she were fysically exhausted. In this condition she goes to the Hall of Truth and publicly accuses the Tathāgata of being a roué who knows how to take his pleasure, but does not look after the child he has begotten.

The Buddha stops his discourse, and roaring like a lion, cries out, 'Sister, as to whether what you have said be true or false, that is something which only you and I know.' 'Yes, mighty monk, but who are to decide between the truth and the falsehood of what is known only to you and to me?' The throne of the god Sakka shows sign of heat; Sakka ponders the cause and becomes aware that Cīncā Mānavikā is falsely accusing the Tathāgata. He sets out with four divinities who have turned into mice. They bite thru the cords with which she has tied the disk of wood about her body; a wind blows up the garment which she has wrapped about her; and the disk of wood falls upon her foot cutting off her toes. The people cry out, 'A hag is reviling the Supremely Enlightened.' They spit on her head, and with clods and sticks drive her out of Jetavana. The earth splits and she is swallowed up in the fires of the Avīci hell. The dénouement in the Sundarī version brings destruction not only to Sundarī but also to the heretics.

Female ascetics, nuns, or other religious women figure for the most part in love-affairs as go-betweens and abettors of amorous couples, and thus on the one hand touch upon the odious profession of the bawd (*kuṭṭanī*, or *kuṭṭinī*). On the other hand they merge with the type of devoted nurse, old woman pander, and witch. In the literature of the Kāmaśāstra (love treatise) which deals systematically with the kind of women who are to be employed as *dūtī*, 'love's messenger,' or 'go-between,' (*servus currens*) the nun (*parivrājikā*) figures quite regularly; see Richard Schmidt, *Beiträge zur indischen Erotik*, pp. 740, 774, 777, 781, 816. In Kathās. 32. 126, 127 it is said that 'these hypocritical female ascetics, creeping unforbidden into houses, skilled in deceptions, will stick at no deed whatsoever.' Brahmanical texts love to cast a slur upon these people by making them out to be Buddhist or Jaina nuns. Thus in Kathās. 13. 88 there is a female ascetic, *Yogakaraṇḍikā*, 'Witches' Kettle,' who lives in a sanctuary of

Buddha (Sugata). In *Daṣakumāracarita* ii. 33 figures the nun (ḡramaṇikā), named Arhantikā, and described on the next page as nirgranthikā 'free from the fetters (of existence)': she seems to be a Jaina nun. In the same text, ii. 55, figures as pander a female Buddhist mendicant (ḡākyabhikṣukī), named Dharma-rakṣitā.⁵³ Once more an undefined female ascetic sneaks as pander with perfumes and wreaths up to a woman whom she intends to corrupt, *Daṣakumāracarita* ii, p. 66 ff. In *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 254 ff., a procuress defined as vṛddhayuvatī, 'midwife,' brings about incestuous union between a mother and son. In *Paṛiṣṭaparvan* 2. 469 a pander nun is described as the family divinity of lewd women.⁵⁴

As a rule the stories exhibit this type of females as mercenary, yet occasionally their conduct enacts the adage that all the world loves a lover. In *Paṛiṣṭaparvan* 2. 469 ff. a youth, in love with Durgilā, the unchaste and cunning wife of the son of a goldsmith, wins the good graces of a nun by pampering her with food and other gifts. She goes to Durgilā and tells her how much the beautiful youth is longing for her. Durgilā, feigning to be outraged at the proposition, drives the nun out, and hits her on the back with her hand which happens to be black with the soot of pots and kettles which she is cleansing. The cunning youth interprets the black marks of the five fingers to mean the fifth night of the dark half of the month. He prevails upon the nun to go once more; Durgilā drives her out again thru the 'back door into an aḡoka grove. There the youth fulfils the assignation on the appointed night. Very similarly in *Kathās*. 75. 99 ff. Prince Vajramukuta, in love with Padmāvatī, bribes an old duenna of hers to carry his love message. Padmāvatī strikes the duenna's two cheeks with camfor, which means 'Wait for these remaining ten moonlight nights of the bright fortnight, for they are unfavorable to an assignation.' When the duenna goes a second time, Padmāvatī places the impression of her three fingers marked with red dye on her breast, which means, 'I cannot receive you for three nights.' The duenna goes a third time. A mad elephant

⁵³ Cf. the name of the Buddhist Elder Dhammagutta at the end of *Haṭṭhipāla Jātaka* (509).

⁵⁴ Hertel, Translation, p. 95, renders puṇḡcalī-kuladevatām, not quite correctly, by 'die schutzgöttin der familie männersüchtiger frauen.'

happens to be running amuck in the city, so Padmāvati tells the duenna: 'You must not go by the public road, which is rendered unsafe by the elephant, so we will let you down into the garden, there you must get up a tree, cross the wall, and go to your own house.' The prince takes the same road to enter Padmāvati's chamber and there marries her by the Gandharva rite. In *Mudupāṇi Jātaka* (262), where a nurse is bribed in the manner of a pander nun, the inamorata also conveys information to her lover by sign-language, to wit:

'A soft hand, and a well-trained elephant,
And a black rain-cloud, gives you what you want.'

The king, father of the maiden, never lets her either out of his eyes, nor out of his hand. When the girl wishes to bathe the king is in the habit of placing her on a lotus ornament outside the window, to bathe in the rain. The maiden chooses a rainy night in the dark half of the month. Her lover comes there with an elephant and a beautiful soft-handed (*mudu-pāṇi*) boy, loosens the bangles off the princess' arm, and fastens them on the arm of the boy. The princess substitutes the boy's hand for her own which the king is ever grasping, and goes off with her lover on the elephant. The king realizes that it is impossible to guard a woman, gives her in marriage to her lover, and makes him viceroy.

The *Rākṣasī*-trick is practised by a nun, *Kathās*. 32. 99 ff., just as it is by sham ascetics (above). *Dr̥ghavarman*, king of *Madhyadeśa*, marries *Kadaligarbhā*, nymph daughter of the great hermit *Mañkanaka*. When the royal pair are settled at home, the king remains exclusively attached to *Kadaligarbhā*. The principal queen resorts to a female ascetic, who, in turn, consults a barber,⁵⁵ and on his advice places at night hands, feet, and other limbs in the chamber of *Kadaligarbhā*. The king thinks her a witch, abandons her, and she goes back to her paternal hermitage by the road of mustard-seeds, now grown up, which she had scattered on the way to the palace.⁵⁶ Her father, *Mañkanaka*, by the power of

⁵⁵ For the barber as typical villain see my 'Life of *Pārçvanātha*,' pp. 33 ff., 202.

⁵⁶ Finding the way back, or pointing out the way, is a frequent motif, especially in folklore. See Tawney's Translation of *Kathāsaritsāgara*, vol. 1, pp. 290, 576; *Jātakas* 61, 435; *Kathakoṣa*, pp. 105, 109; *Old Deccan*

contemplation, sees thru the plot, and easily induces the king to restore her to her former station as favorite queen. In Kathākoṣa, pp. 98 ff. this story in a more elaborate form makes a witch named Sulasā take the place of the female ascetic. The princess finds the way back to her native hermitage by sahakāra trees which she has sown on the road to her husband's palace. Cf. also Kathākoṣa, p. 116.

In Kathās. 13. 54 ff. four young merchants plan the corruption of Devasmitā, faithful wife of the absent merchant Guhasena. They resort to the Buddhist nun Yogakaraṇḍikā who insinuates herself into Devasmitā's confidence. She throws pepper into the eyes of a bitch whom she takes with her to Devasmitā and explains the dog's tears 'because in a former birth, as the wife of a Brahman, she had cheated the elements and the senses, having thru ignorance confined all her attentions to the preservation of her character.' But Devasmitā 'is on'; gets the four merchants, one after another, to come to her, drugs them with dattūra, and brands them with a dog-foot.⁵⁷ She cuts off the nose and ears of the female ascetic, and is, finally, reunited with her husband.

In Daṣakumāracarita ii Prince Apahāravarman employs a Buddhist nun, named Dharmarakṣitā, one of the chief procuresses of the hetaera Kāmamañjarī, by plying her with garments and food, to act as go-between in an affair which secures him the hand of Rājamañjarī. In the third story of the same text Prince Upahāravarman sends his portrait by an old female ascetic to Queen Kalpasundarī, wedded to an ugly, unfaithful, and malevolent king Vikāṭavarman. The queen falls violently in love with the picture, and desires an assignation on that very same day. By means of a spring-board Upahāravarman gets into the garden of the harem, unites himself with Kalpasundarī, and arranges with her for the destruction of the king and usurpation of the throne. In the sixth story of the same text (Nitambavatī, above, p. 230 f.), the Jaina nun Arhantikā figures as go-between.

A more benign aspect of a female ascetic, acting as a harmless

Days, pp. 82, 87, 200; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, 1. 122, 126, 128, 373. Cf. Benfey, *Pañcatantra*, 1. 488. For finding the place where another person has buried treasure see Hemavijaya, Kathāratnākara, story 61; Day, *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, p. 166.

⁵⁷ See my 'Life of Pārçvanātha,' p. 59 note.

go-between, is revealed in the picture and dream story, *Kathās*. 122. 20 ff.,⁵⁸ in which king Vikramāditya marries the man-hating amazon Malayavatī. The king has seen her picture, and dreams that he has crossed the sea and entered a beautiful city. There he sees many armed maidens who raise the cry, 'Kill, kill!' But a female ascetic hides him in her house, explains that he has come to the city of the man-hating princess Malayavatī; and disguises him in female garb. The princess, at the head of her maidens, arrives and says: 'We saw some male enter here.' The ascetic shows her Vikrama, saying, 'I know of no male; here is my sister's daughter, who is with me as my guest.' At the sight of Vikrama the princess forgets her dislike of men, is overcome with love, and invites Vikrama to live with her in her palace. In a game of marrying her maidens to one another the maidens 'marry' Malayavatī to Vikrama. At night, in the bridal chamber, she throws her arms around Vikrama's neck, and he tells her who he is. At this moment 'the cock crows,' that is, the watchman wakes Vikrama up, but after a period of desperate longing, he is in the end united with the flesh and blood Malayavatī.

A story of a sham nun from very secular life indeed is that of the hetaera Kāmapatākā in Hemavijaya, story 176. King Candrapradyota has been tricked by Abhaya, son and minister of king Āṇṇika of Rājagṛha. He asks his assembled court whether any one there is able to deliver up to him Abhaya in fetters. The courtesan Kāmapatākā undertakes the task. Together with two others of the same class she makes a pilgrimage to Rājagṛha where she worships the Jina in all temples and shams the life of a nun. Abhaya takes notice, and invites her to a meal which she and her sister shams eat with every regard to Jaina restrictions. In turn Abhaya accepts her invitation to dinner at her inn; she dopes him with *dattūra*; fetters him; and delivers him on a wagon into Candrapradyota's hands.

⁵⁸ Picture and dream loves are very frequent in fiction and drama; cf. Tawney's note to ii. 588.

PRIESTLY PENANCE AND LEGAL PENALTY

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS

YALE UNIVERSITY

IN NĀRADA'S LAW-BOOK, 15, 19, occurs this rule :

na kilbiṣeṇā 'pavadeḥ chāstrataḥ kṛtapāvanam
na rājñā dhṛtadaṇḍam ca

“ One should not tax with his crime a man who, in accordance with the codes, has performed purification or has been punished by the king.” Here we have an antithesis which characterizes all the Sanskrit books of law, as *dharma* is loosely translated. Criminal law in particular appears to be a matter adjusted by priestly penance as well as by legal penalty. But to a certain extent there are clear lines of demarcation between the two systems. That the king in person executes not only the law but the criminal, is the old theory of Hindu law. The criminal *par excellence* is the robber or thief. Murder at an early period was punished by weregeld, a compensatory payment made to the family, which later became a fine. It disturbed the family rather than the State and was not a matter of royal concern. But theft or robbery (the two are not distinguished at first) is one of the first crimes recognized as of public importance and through every legal code flits the figure of the “ thief with loosened hair,” who by agreement of all the law-makers must go to the king and be slain by the king in person. The details differ but, till the latest code, when, instead of killing the thief, the king may “ hit him gently,” the procedure is about the same. The thief (caught with the goods) is to carry with him a club with which the king smites and kills him; if the king fails to do this, he himself incurs the sin (demerit) of the thief and must perform a penance for neglect of duty.¹

A later limitation describes the thief as one who has stolen gold

¹ Āp. 1, 25, 4-6: “ The king shall hit the thief with the club; if the thief dies, his crime is expiated; if forgiven by the king, the guilt falls on the one who forgives him. Or, the thief may throw himself into fire and be freed from guilt by death ” (*vadhe mokṣaḥ; anujñātāram enaḥ sprśati; agniṃ vā praviśet, etc.* Compare G. 12, 43-45: *aghnann enasvī rājā*, “ the king is guilty if he does not kill ” (the thief).

or, more particularly, gold belonging to a priest; and the king may give the weapon to the thief, with which he shall kill himself (an awkward thing to do!); then, through this suicide or through suicide by fire, the thief "frees himself of sin." Thus Vas. 20, 41-42: "If a man has stolen gold belonging to a Brahman, he shall run with flying hair to the king (saying), 'Sir, I am a thief; punish me.' Then the king shall give him a weapon of *udumbara* wood, wherewith the thief shall kill himself. It is declared (in the Veda) that he becomes pure after death. Or . . . he may burn himself."² Manu, 8, 314, *seq.*, gives in one place the simpler old rule: A thief must carry with him a club or staff of *khadira* wood or a sharp spear or an iron staff and the king is to punish him or take upon himself the thief's guilt; then, in 11, 100, the same author says: "A Brahman who has stolen the gold (of a Brahman) shall go to the king and say 'Punish me' and the king, taking from him the club, shall strike him once. By the blow the thief becomes pure. Or a Brahman may purify himself by austerities." Viṣṇu makes the theft one of gold (of a priest) and implies, as do other authorities, that the king may kill the thief (Vi. 52, 1 *seq.*). Nārada, *Parīṣiṣṭa*, 47, says that the king should merely touch the thief, *rājā tataḥ sprśed enam*, since he becomes free from guilt by confession. The commentators generally read back into the older text the limitation of the later; yet it is clear that originally the king in person kills any thief. But Manu 9, 276, enjoins that the king shall have robbers ("who steal at night by breaking through a wall") impaled, *niveśayet*, after their hands have been cut off, and it is doubtless true that in many of these rules for punishment and execution, *hanyāt*, 'kill' and *ghātayet*, 'cause to be killed,' mean the same. Compare *nṛpo hanyāt, ghātayet, hanyād īśvara* all together in M. 9, 269, *seq.* Viṣṇu says *ugrān ugreṣu (niyuñjita*, Vi. 3, 20), that is, the king is to employ rough men for his rough work,³ and in the developed civilization of the later time the king's handling of a thief becomes more and more a formality. But the

² *Brāhmaṇasucarnaharaṇāt . . śāstu bhavān iti, tasmāi rājau 'dumbaram śastraṃ dadyāt . . maraṇāt pūto bhavati 'ti vijñāyate; niṣkālako vā . . ātmānam abhidāhayet.* So Yāj. 3, 257, *brāhmaṇasvarṇahāri*.

³ Compare Vi. 16, 11 *vadhyaghātitaṃ caṇḍālānām*, and M. 10, 56: Men of the low castes called *Caṇḍālas* and *Śvapacas* "shall kill those who, in accordance with the king's command, are to be killed."

king even later is still personally the executive in the imposition of fines, as in the administration of justice generally, even when he deposes to his officials the burden of his work. The king "shall have a goldsmith (who defrauds his customers) cut to pieces with razors" (M. 9, 292), as "the king shall have the punishment arranged" for the theft of agricultural implements, *rājā danḍam prakalpayet*; also in person "the king shall restrain thieves," that is, see to it that they are restrained, and "the king shall himself do (over again) what his ministers or judges have done wrongly and fine them the highest fine" (for their errors), as Manu says, 9, 312 and 234. The king has to pay out of his own treasury the value of all stolen property not recovered (G. 10, 47) and the king's officers appointed over towns must in the same way pay for what is stolen under their jurisdiction (Āp. 2, 26, 8). If a murder or robbery occurs, the blame lies with the officers unless it becomes clear that the criminal is from another district (Yāj. 2, 271, *seq.*). Impalement for horse-thieves and house-breakers, cutting off of fingers in the case of convicted cut-purses, *etc.*, are to be seen to by the king, who "shall cause a thief to return stolen property and inflict punishment of various sorts," unless the thief be a priest, in which case the king shall brand and banish him from his realm, *svarāṣṭrād vipravāsayet* (*ibid.* 270).

In all these multifarious cares the priests have nothing to do except to advise the king and receive the fines paid by murderers and other "great sinners," which it is unlawful for the king to receive (M. 9, 243). But it is in connection with these great sinners (criminals), a semi-technical term of priestly origin for those who commit capital crimes, that we find the following injunction (M. 9, 236): "Let the king inflict corporal punishment and just fines upon great criminals, if they do not perform a penance." The corporal punishment is inflicted by branding on the forehead these great criminals (the slayer of a priest, an Aryan who drinks rice-brandy, the thief [of a priest's gold], and he who commits adultery with his teacher's wife are the "great criminals") and they are then to be outcasted, that is, deprived of all intercourse with decent people. But if they perform the penance prescribed, they are not to be branded but to pay the highest fine (one thousand coppers); only, again, the priest is to pay but half that amount ("if his sin is unintentional" says the scholiast) or, if he

sins intentionally (?), the priest is to be banished with his property. Men of other castes who perform penance have their whole property confiscated if they have sinned unintentionally, and are branded and banished if they have sinned intentionally. The scholiast also thinks there is a distinction to be observed between light and grave offences (depending on the circumstances in which the crime is committed). But the scholiast does not make the matter too clear and for the present purpose the meaning in detail is unimportant. What is important is that in this injunction we have a clear case of the interaction of priestly and legal rule and punishment. The older decree is unquestionably that of Bau-dhāyana, 1, 18, 18: "If a Brahman has slain a Brahman, has violated his teacher's couch, has stolen the gold (of a Brahman), or has drunk rice-brandy, then (the king) shall brand him on the forehead [with an appropriate mark] and banish him from his realm." Quite apart from this rule are priestly penances (3, 7, 1, *seq.*, from Tāitt. Āraṇ. 2, 8, 1, *seq.*). Viṣṇu, 5, 1, *seq.*, says that great criminals, with the exception of Brahmins,⁴ are to be put to death, but a Brahman, for whom corporal punishment is illegal, must be branded and turned out of his own district, *svadeśa*; but G. 27, 16, say that penances free from all guilt, including that attaching to great crimes, *mahāpātaka*, though in 26, 22 and before this, in 21, 1 (he includes others) he says that such criminals become outcasts and that the chief of these crimes cannot be expiated, *anirdeśyāni*. It is said in Manu 11, 90, that there is no expiation (atonement) for murdering a Brahman and the penances prescribed in the legal codes for one who has committed a great crime are in reality equivalent to a sentence of death. For example, for violating the teacher's couch one must confess the crime and die by one's own hand (M. 11, 104, *seq.*). So Āpastamba, 1, 25, 1, *seq.*, says that one who drinks rice-brandy shall drink exceedingly hot liquor, so that he dies, *surāpo 'gnisparśām surām pibet*. But such death by priestly penance is utterly unknown in

⁴ Vi. 5, 1: *atha mahāpātakino brāhmaṇavarjaṃ sarve vadhyāḥ*; 2, *na śūro brāhmaṇasya daṇḍaḥ*; 3, *svadeśād brāhmaṇaṃ kṛtāṅkaṃ vivāsayet*. Jolly, in *SBE*. VII, p. 24, has omitted in his translation the all-important *brāhmaṇavarjaṃ*. Viṣṇu still uses, as he inherits, the personal injunction, 5, 9, *rājā hanyāt* (from M. 9, 232); but also independently; 72, *tādṛśam eva vā kuryāt*, "the king shall do the same to him," who has gouged out another's eyes (or imprison him for life).

the codes that have nothing to do with law but are evolved as priestly discipline. In the Sāmavidhāna-Brāhmaṇa, for example, there are penances for abuse and assault and theft and murder, but the hardest of these is a fast accompanied by expiatory psalms sung in atonement, or living (in or) beside water, *udake*, fasting and singing a psalm. Death is not expected as a result of any of these priestly penances (cf. M. 11, 88 with Sāmavidh. 1, 7, 5). For smiting a Brahman and drawing blood, the code prescribes the severe combination of the *kṛcchra* and *atikṛcchra* penances, but the priestly Vidhāna says that atonement is made by singing the psalm verse SV. 2, 86 (Vidh. 1, 7, 4; M. 11, 209).

It might be thought, in the frequent absence of any mention of the agent, that the priest imposes the penalty of fines in the codes, especially as the king acts always under advice from the priests; but that is not the case, and the codes supply the deficiency enough to show that the punisher is the king himself, either in person or as authority. For example, in M. 8, 191, it is said that two criminals (who refuse to return a deposit or falsely claim to have made one) "should be punished like thieves," *cāuravac chāsyāu* and Viṣṇu, on the same topic, says *rājñā cāuravac chāsyāḥ*. In short, the whole criminal procedure is carried out by the king, or through his agents. But in giving the option of penalty or penance the priestly rules have become amalgamated with those of the court.

Criminal law, *daṇḍavidhi*, has thus been combined from two entirely different sources, one that of the king with his *daṇḍa* and *dama* (corporal punishment and fine) acting as guardian of his people and executive, the other, apart from the king, of the priests, who made for offences their own rules (laws) and penances, *prāyaścitta* (-*citti*), which vary from slight to severe religious exercises, such as fasting and singing (repeating) certain texts magically potent to relieve a sufferer of sorrow or sin. Now these *prāyaścitta* are intended originally only for the priests and even in the codes most of the rules and exceptions implying such punishment are really meant for the priests, who alone are in a position to carry out the singing and reciting required. Moreover, even in smaller matters, such as the "rules for a householder" (Snātaka), the codes are not meant for the mass of people, the Vaiśyas, but are composed for priests and warriors alone. It is a work of

supererogation if a Vaiśya follows them; it will be well for him to do so but he is blameless if he does not pay any attention to them.⁵ In the same way, the priestly rules were for a restricted class. In the Vidhāna they are for the priest only; but in the law-codes they supplant the royal criminal code, primarily in the case of priests; but, secondarily, by an extension of this exemption, they are applied to others. But in that case it was obvious that penances to be effective must be equal to the legal penalties, and in this way were introduced the horrible penances entailing death, which are really legal punishments, only they are still called penances. They differ too from the legal penalties in this, that they are self-inflicted, whereas the legal penalties are punishments (impaling, imprisonment, mutilation, etc.) inflicted by others, though, as we have seen, an occasional option is introduced and, for example, the thief may commit suicide by burning himself to death instead of being killed by another.

Now there is little direct indication of how these two systems have amalgamated. There are really three, but since the code of penances for priests alone remains without legal force, as a manual of atonements made by priests for priests, it may here be left out of sight, except to remark that (as everyone knows) out of these priestly rules many have been incorporated in effect, rarely in the same words, into the codes, and a whole chapter of this material has been fastened on to the code of Gautama (who, however, probably did not have this at all in his original work). But how are we to imagine the mutual relations of king and priest in making up a code such as now exists in most of our texts? The word *vrata* means the law as an observance to be followed both in religious and in criminal cases, as in G. 24, 10, *tadvrata eva* means that one shall follow the penance described in the case of capital crimes. This is the meaning of the words, *dvāu loke dhṛtavratāu* in G. 8, 1, "two men uphold the laws in this world" (the king and the priest), and it is in allusion to this bipartite division of the executive power that the same author says (11, 31) that since people who commit crimes (go wrong) are destroyed (hereafter) therefore *tān ācāryopadeśo daṇḍas ca pālayati*, "the injunctions of the priestly teacher and the penalty (inflicted by the king) protect

⁵ Compare the Comm. to Gautama, 9, 1, cited by Bühler. The penance is fasting.

them," that is, they are guarded from wrong-doing by the priest's injunction (as to what penance to perform) as well as by the corporal punishment inflicted by the king. On the one hand is the old and natural rule of those governed by a king, *calatāś cāi 'nān svadharme sthāpayet*, "the king should lead back to their duty those who err" (G. 11, 10), and on the other the *dharmopadeśa* or instruction in regard to law which belongs to the priest and is severely punished if undertaken by one of low caste (M. 8, 272) and may be exercised only by a priest well versed in ancient lore (M. 12, 106).

That the two passages cited above really belong together is shown by a verse in the Nārada Smṛti, 15, 20, which practically combines them thus :

*loke 'smin dvāv avaktavyāv avadhyāu ca prakīrtitāu
brāhmaṇaś cāi 'va rājā ca tāu hī 'dam bibhrato jagat*

"Two persons, a Brahman and a king, are declared to be exempt from censure and from corporal punishment in this world, for these two sustain the visible world." (Cf. G. 11, 32, *rājācāryāv anindyāu*, "king and Brahman are not to be censured".)

The law itself in these passages looks upon the system of priestly penances as one branch of the code of criminal law, as on the other hand, the priests do not refuse allegiance to the criminal code as carried out by the king. There are, on the one hand, explicit traditional laws dealing with the proper punishment of criminals in the good old way, where, as in non-criminal law, precedent served as authority. For example, in civil law, in the matter of inheritance, Manu's precedent in "dividing his property among his sons" made law. But there are also, in all law, many "cases of doubt" and "cases not mentioned" (as they are termed), and in regard to these we may see how the two systems of authority unite. Yāj. 3, 301, says that in criminal cases, one shall perform a penance as set by the Assembly, or, if his crime is not known, he shall (for his own moral and religious satisfaction) perform a secret penance. Manu, 11, 248, also gives penances for secret sins. The Assembly is defined by Manu, 12, 110, as consisting of three to ten persons learned in the Vedas, *etc.*, the attributes of those who make the Assembly, *pariṣad*, applying only to members of the priestly caste, and thus differing from those characterizing the king's min-

isters and councillors. The purpose of the Assembly is to lay down the law, *dharma*, in "cases not mentioned," *anāmnāteṣu* (M. 12, 108) or "in cases where there is a difference of opinion" (G. 28, 50, *vipratipattāu*), withal not only in matters of penance but in regard to any point of law, as is clear from the position of this rule in the code of Gāutama.

Moreover, this assembly of from three to ten may consist at a pinch of only one priest and it is significant that the language used in regard to the making of laws by the king and by the Assembly, even when represented by only one priest, is virtually identical. Thus compare these parallel passages: "That which the king shall decree, *vyavasyet*, to be law, let no man violate," *taṁ dharmam na vicālayet* (M. 7, 13); and "That which the priests' Assembly shall ordain, *parikalpayet*, as law, let no man violate," *taṁ dharmam na vicālayet* (M. 12, 110); and further: "That which even one Brahman learned in the Vedas shall decree to be law must be considered to have supreme legal force," *eko 'pi vedavid dharmam yaṁ vyavasyed dvijottamaḥ, sa vijñeyaḥ paro dharmam* (*ibid.* 113).

But the laws thus made by the priest for the king in special cases are at once imbued with the force of precedent and so become part of the traditional code. Thus in Manu 8, 324, the law as to stealing large animals is left to be adjusted by the king: "For stealing large animals . . . the king (in person) shall adjust the penalty, after considering the occasion and the purpose" of the theft, *kālam āsādyā kāryam ca daṇḍam rājā prakalpayet*; but in Vi. 5, 77, *seq.*, it is stated as the law that a man who has stolen a cow, horse, camel, or elephant (large animals) shall have one hand or one foot cut off. The king no longer has to adjust the penalty; the priest has already generalized the law and laid down the punishment. Again, it is interesting to see that precisely the same formula is used in this matter of adjusting penalties as in adjusting penances. Thus in Manu 11, 210: "For the removal of offences for which no expiation has been prescribed one shall adjust, *prakalpayet*, a penance after considering the (offender's) ability and the (nature of the) offence." Compare Yāj., 294, *prāyaścittam prakalpyam syāt*: "Penance shall be adjusted, where no expiation is mentioned, after careful investigation of place, time, age, and offence"; and, again, M. 8, 126: "The king should inflict punishment, *daṇḍa*, after considering the purpose, place, time,

and ability of the criminal." Compare Vi. 5, 194, *jñātvā jātiṃ dhanam vayah, daṇḍaṃ prakalpayed rājā*.

Which set of rules and formulas, those of the king or those of the priest, is older, cannot be absolutely determined. But it may be assumed that royal punishment for theft and the law of weregeld are Vedic and probably still older, while on the other hand the laws of penance that have in part been incorporated into the codes from Vedic literature and may in part have come from the period of Indo-Iranian unity, have just as good a claim to be considered primitive law.⁶ The two developments ran on side by side and had so much in common that the words for penalty and penance were interchanged, while each system made the same distinction between intentional and unintentional sins (crimes), each increased the punishment in the case of repeated misdemeanors and allotted the punishment by the same formula ("after considering time and place," etc.). According to the legal code, the sinner (criminal) may be "purified" by either standard, either performing a penance or submitting to legal punishment, or, in some cases, he may be obliged to undergo both penalties.⁷ Yet one penalty or penance usually sufficed and in cases where the criminal could not perform a penance (usually this would be anyone except a priest) the legal penalty alone could be exacted. A slave, for example, had to suffer the legal punishment (if he insulted a superior, the offending member was cut off) and by the time the penances were made to fit into the law the severity of the death-penance made it a matter of indifference whether one died by "penance" or by official "corporal punishment." Most offences anyway were productive of fines in the course of time, which, except in the case of fines received from "great sinners," went into the king's treasury (otherwise to the priests, or they were sacrificed to the god of water as purificatory). Apparently the king and his laws of custom (still of

⁶ The Vājasaneyi Samhitā has a prayer to Atonement (penance). Some of the code-rules come direct from the (Tāitt.) Brāhmaṇa period. Compare also the many correspondences between the codes and the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa, but especially the order of allotment of penalties in the case of "untruths regarding a man," cattle, etc. as compared with the same order in the Zoroastrian Vendidad. Tāitt. Br. 3, 2, 8, 11 is in Āp. 2, 22, etc. For the correspondences, see Spiegel, Konow (in Sāmavidh.), and Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, pp. 116 and 142.

⁷ Jolly, *op. cit.*, p. 121, seq.

course unwritten), which called for corporal punishment, later for fines, first began to be operative in regard to cases of theft and robbery. Other wrong-doing such as murder, adultery, insults, arson, *etc.*, was left to the injured family or individual to adjust (arson, in Viṣṇu's code, is still a private matter punishable by private homicide which is legally justified) and was eventually formulated by the priest as "sin" deserving of such and such a punishment. The priests then incorporated these rulings into, or rather added them to, the code of Good Form or Law which they had already elaborated apart from the "house-hold rules" on the one hand and "penance-rules for priests" on the other. Both systems arose naturally and there is no need to assume that the legal penalty was in itself a later product than the code of priestly penances. But the kingly code was later formulated and expressed in didactic sentences. We can see this plainly in the rules concerning the king himself. At first there were brief and rather naive statements as to how a king should act in time of war and peace; then more attention was paid to criminal jurisprudence and the laws made on this subject were made part of the royal laws. Finally the laws in regard to inheritance, property in general, in a word civil law, were added and the rest of the *mélange* drops away and there emerges a real code of civil law. But the inroad of the priest upon the royal right of punishment is very marked and even to the end the former maintained his independent right to substitute penances for (legal) penalties, as he succeeded also in diverting to himself the payment of wergeld and other fines for great crimes. The instruction, *upadeśa*, of the priest always determined the action of the king in later times, since it was part of the law that he should never be without priestly advisors.⁸ The king's first duty is "to protect his people" and it was always understood that part of that protection lay in upholding the laws of families and guilds and castes. The priestly caste was itself a sort of guild as well as caste and its privilege was to carry out under the king's protection its office of "giving instruction." As

⁸ Compare Vi. 5, 194: *daṇḍam prakalpayed rājā saṃmantrya brāhmaṇāḥ saha*, "(considering the offender's caste, age, *etc.*,) after consultation with the priests the king should adjust the penalty" (for crimes, *aparādheṣu*). Manu 8, 126, gives the same rule, but without mentioning the consultation with the priests.

it gave instruction in regard to penances, it was the king's duty to see that these penances were performed. Now there is one (unique) passage in the law-books which reveals just what happens when a recalcitrant sinner (criminal) refuses to submit to the penance or penalty which the spiritual teacher has imposed. It is of such surpassing interest that it is worth while to translate it in its entirety (Āp. 2, 10, 12, *seq.*) :

“The corrector (priest) shall order those who have done wrong to perform a penance (*śāstā nirveśam upadiśet*) in accordance with their acts and with what has been declared (in the priestly rules). If they disobey his order (*śāstram*, the same word as that used of a king), he shall make them go to the king and the king shall send them to his chaplain (*purohita*, who must be) skilled in law and worldly affairs (*dharmārthakuśalam*). This chaplain shall compel (*niyuñjyāt*) the members of the Brahman caste (if the sinners are of that caste) and make them (perform the indicated penance) by force and by any means of restraint (imprisonment, *etc.*), barring the infliction of corporal punishment and servitude (in the case of priests); but in the case of all other castes, the king, after carefully examining their actions, shall punish (such sinners) even by deprivation of life (*prāṇaviprayogāt*), though in doubtful cases (where the offence is not proved), the king should not punish them (*na daṇḍam kuryāt*) until he has carefully investigated their case by means of ordeals and questionings (*dāivaprasnebhyah*). But (when his examination is concluded) the king should proceed to punish them.” By the rule of *ibid.* 2, 29, 6, the experts who try doubtful cases employ such means as “signs and ordeals” to extract the truth (*saṃdehe liṅgato dāivene 'ti vicitya*). According to G. 12, 27, the penalty for disobeying the priest's instructions was no light matter: “For not doing as prescribed or for doing as forbidden, *pratiśiddhasevāyām*, a man's property should be taken away from him, except his clothes and food.” Āpastamba gives as the penalty for one who violates any rule (of caste or order) ‘imprisonment until amendment,’ *samāpatti*, and banishment in case one refuses to amend his ways. But in all except capital crimes the intercession of a spiritual teacher, a sacrificial priest, a Snātaka, or a prince, *rājā*, might serve to mitigate deserved punishment to a lighter form of punishment (*ācārya ṛtvik snātako rājeti trāṇam syur anyato vadhyāt*, Āp. 2, 27, 18-20). On this point Gautama

says: "The penalty should be regulated according to the person, his ability, and the (circumstances and) repetition of the crime; or pardon (may be granted) in accordance with the decision of an assembly of the priests" (*anuñānaṃ vā vedavitsamavāyavacanāt*, "learned in the Veda," G. 12, 51-52).

In regard to the chaplain's competence to decide cases of penalty and penance, it must be remembered that this priest must be well versed not only in Vedic lore but in legal and business matters. Viṣṇu says of such a priest: "The king should choose as a chaplain a man skilled in the Vedas, in the epic, in law-codes, and in worldly knowledge, of good family, physically without defects, and of austere virtue."⁹

There was no wrong, from slight errors of conduct to murder and treason, for which the completed criminal code did not seek to find an appropriate penance or penalty. But in case no provision had been made for his case, the injured party had only to bring the matter to the attention of the priest or go direct to the king (*rājānaṃ abhigacchet or iyāt*)¹⁰ to get satisfaction. It is not till Nārada's day that any provision is made for a man's taking it upon himself to punish another for a wanton insult. The old code provided for two cases in which one might of one's own initiative get satisfaction without recourse to the courts. One of these was where a man recovered property which had been loaned: "He who recovers his own property (loaned to another) *by any means he can*, should not be reproved by the king," *na rājño vācyaḥ syāt* (Vi. 6, 18).¹¹ The other case has to do with killing in self-defence. The later codes elaborated the idea that one who killed in battle or killed an assassin was morally and legally blameless, until in Viṣṇu this reaches the formulated permission to kill almost anyone that endangered another's life, property, or weal. Still called "as-

⁹ Vi. 3, 70: *vedetihāsadharmasūstrārthakuśalaṃ kulinaṃ avyāṅgaṃ tapasvināṃ purohitaṃ ca varayet* (worldly knowledge is useful, practical, knowledge of affairs).

¹⁰ Vi. 6, 19 and 20; Yāj. 2, 40 (compare M. 8, 176). To "go to the king" means to seek justice from him; if a man without reason brings a suit to the king he is punished.

¹¹ Compare Yāj. 2, 40 and M. 8, 50 and 176 (*chandena*): "A creditor may legally recover *according as he will*," probably referring to the practice of door-sitting, or forcing the debtor to pay by working on his fear of ghosts.

sassin" (the technical legal term that gave immunity for killing) any man might be slain with impunity who threatened with sword, poison, fire, with a curse, or a deadly Atharva Veda magic rite, as also an informer (who was likely to endanger one's life) with the king, or one who transgressed with a man's wife, and even such people as stole one's fame or wealth or took away one's religious merit (by impairing the use of a sacred pool made by the victim) or (landed) property.¹²

In line with this freedom of individual action, Nārada provides also for a less dangerous form of attack: "If a man of the lowest caste (such as those whose business it is to execute criminals, p. 244, note 3) or an outcast . . . offend a superior, he shall be punished (by that superior) on the spot by a whipping (given him by the superior) . . . If such a low person insult (a superior), the man insulted should himself punish (*vinayam kuryāt*) that low man and the king has nothing to do with the punishment. . . . But if the superior man is unable to whip the low man, the king should have punishment inflicted upon him."¹³

The priest in adjusting penalties gave his mandate, except where, as in the case of the thief caught with the goods, the king knew his part in advance. There was at first no formal distinction between a sin and a crime and the wide difference of opinion in regard to the proper way to treat intentional, as differentiated from unintentional, wrong-doing shows that it was a long time before any real distinction was made between culpa and dolus. What gave such great weight to the code of Manu was that for the first time it attempted to make an extended survey of legal matters under eighteen titles of law and so blazed the way for further clarification in subsequent codes. Although these eighteen titles have been severely criticized, they mark really a great advance. It may be worth while to mention them here in order to show in what state was the "law" (that is, the code of right and wrong) when the administration of law began to settle into grooves for itself, instead of being a mere sub-division of the priestly rules of

¹² Vi. 5, 191: *udyatāsiviṣāgniṃ ca śāpodyatakaram tathā, ātharvaṇa hantāraṃ piśunam cāi 'va rājasu*, (192) *bhāryātikramaṇam cāi 'va vidyāt sapātātāyinaḥ, yaśovittaharān anyān āhur dharmārthahārakān*.

¹³ Nār. 15, 11-14, *ghātayed rājā*; the *ghāta*, blow, is explained as *tāḍanam*, whipping.

behavior for priests. These titles are: non-payment of debts; pledges; sale without ownership; partnership and non-delivery of what has been given; non-payment of wages; breach of contract (or, breach of guild rules); revocation of sale and purchase; disputes between master and servant; boundary-disputes; assault and slander; theft; violence; adultery; the law between man and wife; partition; dicing and betting on (fights between) animals. "These (the author concludes) are the eighteen topics which occur in the settlement of disputes here (on earth). Let him (the king), relying on the eternal law, determine the affairs of men who mostly dispute about these topics. But when he does not inspect such affairs himself let him appoint to inspect them a learned priest. When the king attends to his (legal) affairs he should be accompanied by three priests as members of his court."¹⁴ In the early 'law' manuals, civil and criminal law together make only a small fraction of the whole and these topics are briefly and confusedly mingled, but both together take far less space than the rules for students and for religious penances.

"The spiritual teacher is the recognized corrector, *śāstar*, of worthy Aryans, while the corrector of criminals (evil-souled) is the king, but the corrector of those who sin in secret is the god of hell." So says a verse imputed to Nārada.¹⁵ But the priest must not be thought to have evaded his own responsibilities in fashioning the law for his people. He gave precedence to his own caste and exempted it from capital punishment and from slavery (as penalties for crime), but he did not assume even the right to lay fines paid as penalties. The priest may only reprove and name the penance to be performed; the king alone may inflict punishment and designate the fine.¹⁶ It is also to the honor of the priest that

¹⁴ Manu, 8, 3-11. In the earlier code of Gautama only fifty-two short clauses are devoted to civil and criminal law altogether. Of these, fourteen have to do with abuse (insults) and stand at the head of the list, followed at intervals by eight short clauses on theft (15-18, 43-44, and association with thieves, 49-50), eight on damage by cattle, eight on legal interest, three on adverse possession, three on debts and deposits, two on punishment in the case of priests, and two on modification of penalty and pardon. The text of the whole discussion (on criminal and civil law) could be printed on a page of this JOURNAL.

¹⁵ Nār. Parīś. 50. For *ātmaavat* as worthy Aryans, see G. 9, 62 and Vi. 51, 66. It rather implies a priest; cf. M. 5, 43.

¹⁶ Bṛhaspati, Smṛti, 27, 8.

he enunciated the doctrine, which bore hard on his own caste, that "knowledge makes a difference," that is, the higher his caste the greater is the guilt of the offender. In a case of theft, for example, the sin of a priest is reckoned as much more than that of an (ignorant) man of the lowest caste. "For those who know, the greater is the guilt," *vidyā 'pi ca viśeṣeṇa vidvatsv abhyadhikam bhavet*.¹⁷ This means that the Brahman who steals has to pay back double as much as a man of the next lower caste, and so on down, so that, while a slave has to repay eight times the value of what he has stolen, a priest has to pay sixty-four times as much "or even more," as Manu pitilessly adds.¹⁸

¹⁷ Nār. *loc. cit.* 52; compare also, in reference to the king as a possible criminal (Manu, 8, 335-336): "If father, teacher, friend, mother, wife, son, or domestic priest fail to attend to their duties, they should not go unpunished by the king. In any case where a private individual would be fined a copper, in that case the king ought to be fined a thousand: so stands the law."

¹⁸ M. 8, 338; cf. G. 12, 15: *aṣṭāpādyam steyakilbiṣam śūdrasya* . . 17, *viduṣo 'tikrame daṇḍabhūyastvam*. The thief "taken with the goods" is *sahoḍha* (M. 9, 270; Vas. 19, 39). According to Nār. 14, 18, the discovery of the goods on a man proves that he is a thief and extravagant living proves that he has the goods, *sahoḍhagrahaṇāt steyam hoḍham atyupabhogataḥ*. The expression *sahoḍha* does not occur (in this sense) in Gautama or Āpastamba.

THE KASHMIRIAN ATHARVA VEDA, BOOK ELEVEN EDITED WITH CRITICAL NOTES

LEROY CARR BARRET

TRINITY COLLEGE, HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

Introduction

THE ELEVENTH BOOK of the Pāippalāda herewith presented is the shortest published and one of the three shortest in the manuscript: it contains nothing of unusual interest. The material is presented in the same manner as in previous books.

Of the ms.—This eleventh book in the Kashmir ms begins f138b8 and ends f141b6, covering three folios. There is no defacement of the ms: the pages have 20 lines each.

Punctuation, numbers, etc.—Punctuation is more regular than in most of the books previously edited, and the stanzas are numbered regularly for the first time since Book One. All the stanzas of three hymns are correctly numbered, in another there is only one mistake, and in the other three hymns there is confusion. There are only seven hymns (kāṇḍas) in this book, and no sign of grouping these into anuvākas: only at the end of hymns three, four and five does a numeral appear to indicate the kāṇḍa number; space is left for it after hymn seven. There are only a few corrections marginal or interlinear: in the left margin opposite the end of hymn five is “ūrjasam ṛcā” and a star. Accents are marked on all but the first stanza of hymn six, a hymn which appears in RV and a number of other texts. Accents have been almost entirely lacking in the ms since Book One (cf. *JAOS* 30. 189).

Extent of the book.—The book has seven hymns, all metrical. If there is a normal number of stanzas it is 14, as three of the hymns have 14 stanzas. The facts are set forth in the following table:

1 hymn has 5 stt	= 5 stanzas
1 “ “ 10	= 10 “
1 “ “ 11	= 11 “
1 “ “ 12	= 12 “
3 hymns have 14 stt each	= 42 “

7 hymns have	80 stanzas
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New and old material.—Two of the hymns in this book are Ś 19. 34 and 35; one is part of RV 10. 97: we may fairly count 52 stanzas as new material.

ATHARVA-VEDA PĀIPPALĀDA-ŚĀKHĀ BOOK ELEVEN

1

[f138b8] *atha ekādaśaś kāṇḍān likhyante zz zz oṃ namo nārā-
yaṇā- [9] ya z oṃ namas tilotamāyāi z oṃ namo jvālābhagavatyaī
z z oṃ namo ga- [10] ṇeśāya z z oṃ vṛṣā te haṃ vṛṣaṃnyanti
garbhaṃ dadāmi yonyām ya- [11] di devapariṣṭhitā | prājām to-
kaṃ na vindase z 1 z oṃ dhātā te taṃ si- [12] nivālī varuṇānī
pra yaśchati | pumānsaṃ putram indrānī sata- [13] tāyām dadhātu
te z 2 z saṃvṛktas te vakṣaṇāsu garbhaṃ puṣāṃ pumā- [14] n kṛtaḥ
sarvāṅgas tāmnor jāyatām agnir vāranyo hṛdibhiḥ z 3 z dhasbī-
[15] raṃ karmanyam prastam tā vadhrim sarveśam kṛṇomi | āt-
manas te lohitād ga- [16] rbhas saṃ vartatām vṛṣākapeḥ z 4 z tvaṣṭā
piṇṣatu te prājām dhātā [17] tokaṃ dadhātu te | rākā sivyāś ca sūcya
bhūtasyeśānā bhuvanasya de- [18] vī z 5 z sinivālim anumatiṃ rā-
kāṃ gugūṃ sarasvatīm. | de- [19] vānām patnyāi yā devī indrānīm
avase huve z 6 z abhidā- [20] tā vṛddharagbhā ariṣṭāri vīrasūryam
| vī jāyatām pra jāyatām ba- [f139a] hvī bhavatu putriṇī z 7 z
parisruca garbhaṃ dehi māsyāḥ pracyoṣṭa lohitaṃ | ano- [2] nonaḥ
pūrṇo jāyatām asthāpū naṃdho piśācadhītaḥ z 8 z tvaṃ dadhāsi
dvipadeś ca- [3] tuṣpade garbhaṃ prajām ecate viśvarūpā | kaṇi-
kradaḥ vṛṣabho vīdumopā prajāpa- [4] te tanvām dehi garbhaṃ
z 9 z abhikrandān stanayan dhehi garbhaṃ vidyotamānaṣ pavamā-
[5] no vīdbhiḥ | parjanyaṃ mām pṛthivī rebhasā | vatāpām rasīro-
vadhīnām paśūnā | [6] z 10 z ā te nayāmi vṛṣaṇam yaś prajānām
prajāpatih | sa te dadyāt trtiyam [7] garbhaṃ yonyām vijām pra-
jām z 11 z ye vṛṣāṇo garbhaṃkrta ṛtvīyānām sumenasah [8] tāns
te hvayāmi tad u te sampaddhyatām z 12 z agnes te tvaṣṭur varuṇād
indrāt so- [9] mād vṛhaspateḥ putram te putrakāmāyāi devebhyo
nir mame prajām z 13 z aṅgad aṅga- [10] t saṃ sravatu tad yonāu
prati tiṣṭhatu | prajā te vakṣāṇā śayā taṃ te bījam nir uhatu | [11]
z 14 z*

For the introductory phrase and invocation read: athāikādaśaś kāṇḍo likhyate zz zz oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya z oṃ namas tilotamāyāi z oṃ namo jvālābhagavatyaī z oṃ namo gaṇeśāya z z

For the hymn read: vṛṣā te 'haṁ vṛṣaṇyantyāi garbhaṁ dadhāmi yonyām | yadi devapariṣṭhitā prajāṁ tokaṁ na vindase z 1 z dhātā te taṁ sinivālī varuṇānī pra yacchati | pumāṁsaṁ putram indrānī 'śatatāyāṁ dadhātu te z 2 z saṁvṛktas te vakṣaṇāsu garbhaṣ puṁsāṁ pumān kṛtaḥ | sarvāṅgas tānvo jāyatām agnir vāraṇyor vṛttibhiḥ z 3 z gambhīraṁ karmaṇyaṁ prasthaṁ tān vadhrin sarvān kṛṇomi | ātmanas te lohitād garbhas saṁ vartatām vṛṣākapeḥ z 4 z tvaṣṭā piṁsatu te prajāṁ dhātā tokaṁ dadhātu te | rākā sīvyaca sūcyā bhūtasyeśānā bhuvanasya devī z 5 z sinivālīm anumatiṁ rākāṁ guṇḡm saraśvatīm | devānāṁ patnī yā devindrāṇīm avase huve z 6 z abhijātā vṛddhagarbhā ariṣṭāsti vīrasūr yā | vi jāyatām pra jāyatām bahvī bhavatu putriṇī z 7 z parisrutaṁ garbhaṁ dhehi māsyāḥ pra cyoṣṭa lohitam | anūnaḥ pūrṇo jāyatām 'asthāpū 'nandho 'piśācadhītaḥ z 8 z tvaṁ dadhāsi dvipade catuspade garbhaṁ prajāṁ ejate vīśvarūpa | kanikradad vṛṣabho 'vīdumopā prajāpate tanvāṁ dhehi garbham z 9 z abhikrandaṁ stanayan dhehi garbhaṁ vidyotamānaṣ pavamāno 'vibhiḥ | parjanyaṁ prthivīm retasāvithāpām rasenaūṣadhīnām paśūnām z 10 z ā te nayāmi vṛṣāṇaṁ yaṣ prajānāṁ prajāpatiḥ | sa te dadhyāt tṛtiyaṁ garbhaṁ yonyām vijāṁ prajāṁ z 11 z ye vṛṣāṇo garbhaṁ kṛta ṛtviyānāṁ sumedhasaḥ | tāṁs te hvayāmi <sūtave> tad u te sampadyatām z 12 z agnes te tvaṣṭur varuṇād indrāt somād vṛhaspateḥ | putraṁ te putrakāmāyāi devebhyo nir mame prajāṁ z 13 z aṅgād-aṅgāt saṁ sravatu tad yonāu prati tiṣṭhatu | prajā te vakṣaṇā śayat tām te bījaṁ nir ūhatu z 14 z 1 z

Over sravatu in f139a10 is written in small characters bhavatu.

A stanza in MG. 2. 18. 2 is similar to our st 7; in a it has abhinnāṇḍā but I can get nothing similar to that out of our ms reading; Knauer's edition leaves a hiatus between pādas a and b, and I have done the same; in b MG has ariṣṭā vīrasūvarī, and in d iyaṁ bhavatu tokinī. With our 8cd cf ApMB 1. 13. 1cd and HG 1. 25. 1cd. With 9c cf RV 5. 83. 1c which ends with jīradānuḥ, and with 10a cf RV 5. 83. 7a. In 14c I have accepted vakṣaṇā as a participle of vakṣ, but it is anomalous; it might be better to read vakṣaṇāsu yā; 14d does not yield a very good meaning.

2

[f139a11] *ahaṁ saso yamaṇaṁ saso bhūtir yakṣmam ajiṇāt. | imāṁ sahasrabhā-* [12] *ga indro viśaṇ nāśayāti te z 1 z yaṣ kāryo yaś ca kṛtas svayaṁjā uta hāryaḥ* [13] *devā indrajyeṣṭhā indro*

viṣaṁ nāśayātu te z 2 z viśarasya vijya- [14] mbhasyeṣudhar mātā dhanuṣ pitā ādityāṣ pudityād viṣaṁ nāśayantu te z 3 z [15] dhanvino jyāyā iṣvā apaskamṭasya bāhvoḥ apāsthāś chaṁgāt kurmalād viṣa- [16] n nāśayāmi te z 4 z alavatīr ara śīrṣṇam atho syā yo mukham devī parja- [17] nyaretasiṣave kṛṇutā namaḥ z 5 z imāsatrayo ṅgirasō gāutamā vī- [18] rudham viduḥ tayā bharadvājaṣ kaṇvo viṣaṁ nāśayāti te z 6 z yas tvā [19] strīṇā upasado yaṣ puṁso dhy āruhan. āklāntaṁ saṁklāntaṁ snāva taku [20] te kalpayāmasi z 7 z vāteṣvābhraṁ śyāvayāmi yakṣmaṁ te tanvaṁ pari | vā- [f139b] tā ya cagrus te guru rūjā laghu kṛṇmasi z 8 z tenāham ṛto tena viṣaṁ nā- [2] śayāmi te | yathā nas satyaṁ puruṣaṣ sadā vadutum arhasi z 9 z viṣkandhaṁ ta- [3] d āpiśaraṁ viśaraṁ vṛṣṇyā vayaṁ jambhahanu grāhaṁ śaṅkhaṁ tvānujayenāṁ ajāma- [4] si z 10 z śunam id voṣadhayo ni dadhe bheṣajāya kaṁ | dhanāyavaḥ sanāyakaṣ pu- [5] ruṣaṁ pārayiṣṇavaḥ z 11 z ā ta pattrāṇi devajūtā vīrudh āyīṣyā kṛtā | [6] tayāham indradattayā viṣaṁ nāśayāmi te z 12 z alasya vyañjanasya ve- [7] ṣṭataḥ skotaparnadhe granthe jyādyāyuṣvāṣ tvid viṣiṁ nāśayāmi te z 13 z sākāṁ [8] viṣkandha prapata caṣeṇa kīkidivya | sākāṁ vātasya drājyā sākāṁ nāśā nīhā- [9] kaya z 14 z

Read: ahaṁ saṣāu yamaṇaṁ saṣāu bhūtīr yakṣmaṁ ajījarat | imaṁ sahasrabhāga indro viṣaṁ nāśayāti te z 1 z yaṣ kāryo yaṣ ca kṛtas svayaṁja uta hāryaḥ | devā indrajyeṣṭhā indro viṣaṁ nāśayāti te z 2 z viśarasya vijambhasyeṣudhir mātā dhanuṣ pitā | ādityāṣ ṭpudityād viṣaṁ nāśayantu te z 3 z dhanvino jyāyā iṣvā apaskambhasya bāhvoḥ | apāsthāc chrṇṅāt kurmalād viṣaṁ nāśayāmi te z 4 z alavater āra śīrṣṇam atho 'syā yaṁ mukham | devīḥ parjanya retasa iṣave kṛṇutā namaḥ z 5 z imāṁ atrayo 'ṅgirasō gāutamā vīrudham viduḥ | tayā bharadvājaṣ kaṇvo viṣaṁ nāśayāti te z 6 z yāṣ tvā strīṇā upasado yāṣ puṁso 'dhy āruhan | āklāntaṁ saṁklāntaṁ snāva taku te kalpayāmasi z 7 z vātā ivābhraṁ cyāvayāmi yakṣmaṁ te tanvaḥ pari | vātā yac cakrus te gurv arujā laghu kṛṇmasi z 8 z tenāham ṛto tena viṣaṁ nāśayāmi te | yathā nas satyaṁ puruṣaṣ sadā vaditum arhasi z 9 z viṣkandhaṁ tad āpiśaraṁ viśaraṁ vṛṣṇyā vayaṁ | jambhahanuṁ grāhaṁ śaṅkhaṁ ṭtvānujay enāṁ ajāmāsi z 10 z śunam id vā oṣadhayo ni dadhre bheṣajāya kaṁ | dhanāyavaḥ sanāyavaṣ puruṣaṁ pārayiṣṇavaḥ z 11 z yā te pattrāṇi devajūtā vīrudh āyīṣyā kṛtā | tayāham indradattayā viṣaṁ nāśayāmi te z 12 z alasya vyañjanasya veṣṭataḥ sku-

taparnadheh | granther jyāyā iṣvās tu yad viṣaṁ nāsāyāmi te z 13 z
sākaṁ viṣkandhaṁ pra pata cāṣeṇa kikidivyā | sākaṁ vātasya dhrā-
jyā sākaṁ naśya nihākayā z 14 z 2 z

There is much uncertainty in detail in the text here, particularly in stt 7 and 8. With our 4bc cf § 4. 6. 4c and 5c; for st 14 see RV 10. 97. 13.

3

(§ 19. 34)

[f139b9] jaṅgidisi jaṅgiḍo rakṣatāsi jaṅgiḍaḥ dvipās catuṣpād
a- [10] smākaṁ sarvaṁ rakṣatu jaṅgiḍaḥ z 15 z yā kṛṣchrāttri-
pañcāsīs chataṁ kṛtyākṛta- [11] ś ca ye | sarva vyunaktu tejaso
rasān jaṅgiḍas karat. z 2 z rasam kṛttrimam nāḍasa- [12] rasas
sapta visrasaḥ apetu jaṅgiḍāmatim iṣupasteva sādhyā z 3 z [13]
kṛtyādūṣaṇa vāyam atho rātidūṣaṇaḥ atho sahasvān jaṅgiḍas pari
ṇam yo- [14] śi tāriṣam z 4 z sa jaṅgiḍasya mahisā pari ṇaṣ pātu
viśvataḥ viśvaṁ ska- [15] ndham yena sāmahā saṁskasojojasā niṣ
ṭvā devā ajanayan niṣṭhitam bhūmyā- [16] m adhi tam u tvāṅgirā-
yati vrāhmaṇas pūrvyā viduḥ z 5 z na tvā pūrvā oṣa- [17] dhayo
na tvā caranty ā navā | vibādha ugro jaṅgiḍas paripāṇas sumāṅ-
galaḥ [18] āsvayopadāni bhagavo jaṅgiḍāmutavīryaḥ purā ta ugrā-
ya sato- [19] pendro vīryam dadhāu z 6 z ugra itye vanaspataya
indrojmānasā dadhāu | a- [20] mivās sarvā rakṣāṁsi jahi rakṣāṁsy
oṣadhe | āsarīram viśarikaṁ ca- [f140a] lāsam prṣṇyāmayaṁ tak-
mānam viśvaśāradam arasaṁ jaṅgiḍas karat z 7 z

Read: jaṅgiḍāsi jaṅgiḍo rakṣitāsi jaṅgiḍaḥ | dvipāc catuṣpād
asmākaṁ sarvaṁ rakṣatu jaṅgiḍaḥ z 1 z yāḥ kṛcchrās tripañcāsīs
śataṁ kṛtyākṛtāś ca ye | sarvān vinaktu tejaso 'rasān jaṅgiḍas
karat z 2 z arasaṁ kṛttrimam nāḍam arasās sapta visrasaḥ | apeto
jaṅgiḍāmatim iṣum asteva sādhyā z 3 z kṛtyādūṣaṇo vā ayam atho
'rātidūṣaṇaḥ | atho sahasvān jaṅgiḍas pra ṇa āyūṁśi tāriṣat z 4 z
sa jaṅgiḍasya mahimā pari ṇaṣ pātu viśvataḥ | viṣkandham yena
sāsaha saṁskandham oja ojasā z 5 z niṣ ṭvā devā ajanayan niṣṭhi-
tam bhūmyām adhi | tam u tvāṅgirā iti vrāhmaṇas pūrvyā viduḥ
z 6 z na tvā pūrvā oṣadhayo na tvā caranti yā navāḥ | vibādha ugro
jaṅgiḍas paripāṇas sumāṅgalaḥ z 7 z atha ṭpadāni bhagavo jaṅgi-
ḍāmitavīrya | purā ta ugrāya sata upendro vīryam dadhāu z 8
z ugra it te vanaspatā indra ojmānam ā dadhāu | amivās sarvā
rakṣāṁsi jahi rakṣāṁsy oṣadhe z 9 z āsarīram viśarikaṁ balāsam

prstyāmayam | takmānaṁ viśvaśāradam arasaṁ jaṅgiḍas karat
z 10 z 3 z

In the top margin of f140a stands “z 1 z 3 z” indicating the end of the hymn. The “15” at the end of st 1 indicates mistakenly the inclusion of the stanza in the preceding hymn; our st 2 is numbered correctly, but note irregular numbering after st 4. The text here given varies in places from that of the vulgate; the troublesome passages are fully treated in Whitney’s Translation. It should be remembered that there is reason for believing that Ś Bk 19 was drawn from Pāipp, in which case we do not have two independent texts to work with.

4

(Ś 19.35)

[f140a1] *indra-* [2] *sya nāma gr̥hṇanta ṛsayo jaṅgiḍam daduḥ*
devā ya cakrur bheṣajam ugre viṣka- [3] *ndhadūṣaṇam z 1 z ma*
no rakṣatu jaṅgiḍo dhanapālo dhanāiva devā yañi cakrur vrā- [4]
hmaṇaṣ paripāṇam arātiyaṁ z 2 z druhāndasaṁ ghoracakṣuṁ pā-
pakṛtvā- [5] *nam āgataṁ | tāñs tvaṁ sahasracakṣo pratibodhena*
nāsaya | paripāṇo mi jaṅgi- [6] *daḥ z 3 z para mā divaṣ para mā*
pr̥thivyāḥ pary antarikṣāt para mā vīrudbhyaḥ [7] *para mā bhūtāt*
para mota bhavyā diśo diśo jaṅgiḍas pātv asmān. z 4 z [8] *ye*
ṛṣṇavo devakṛtā yoco bibhr̥the tyā | sarvas tvān viśvabheṣajo rasān
jaṅgi- [9] *ḍas karat. z 5 z 4 z*

Read: *indrasya nāma gr̥hṇanta ṛsayo jaṅgiḍam daduḥ | devā*
yañi cakrur bheṣajam agre viṣkandhadūṣaṇam z 1 z sa no rakṣatu
jaṅgiḍo dhanapālo dhaneva | devā yañi cakrur vr̥hmaṇaṣ pari-
pāṇam arātiham z 2 z durhārdaṁ ghoracakṣuṣaṁ pāpakṛtvānam
āgataṁ | tāñs tvaṁ sahasracakṣo pratibodhena nāsaya paripāṇo ‘si
jaṅgiḍaḥ z 3 z pari mā divaṣ pari mā pr̥thivyāḥ pary antarikṣāt
pari mā vīrudbhyaḥ | pari mā bhūtāt pari mota bhavyād diśo-diśo
jaṅgiḍas pātv asmān z 4 z ya ṛṣṇavo devakṛtā ya uto bibhr̥te ‘nyaḥ |
sarvāñs tān viśvabheṣajo ‘rasān jaṅgiḍas karat z 5 z 4 z

In st 3a I have emended as suggested by Whitney; in 5a since Pāipp and the commentator on Ś have ṛṣṇavo we must deal with that; at Edgerton’s suggestion I accept it; “ye” of the ms suggests a following initial consonant or short a, and that has led me to consider ye ‘diṣṇavo. In 5b I suggest a form similar to that given by SPP but closer to our ms. The relationship of Ś Bk 19 and

Päipp has the same bearing on the problem here as in the preceding hymn.

5

[f140a9] *prati grhāṇi prthivīniyatam etad ājyasya* [10] *mathitam śārīram mām dhanum asya dātus tvam rakṣa barhiṣyā yathāsat.*
z 1 z

Read imām dhenum in c: pāda a seems possible altho the subjunctive grhāṇi is not quotable, and I have thought that perhaps grahāṇi and ni dhattām might better be read.

[11] *uta tvāhur varuṇasya pattrim atho tvāhur aditiṁ viśvarūpām adhijarā-* [12] *yum āghāre havyavāham agnāv asyā mahimānam juhomi* z 2 z

Read patnīm in pāda a, °rūpām in c; atho would be better in a.

sa saha- [13] *svaṁ tāntum anvātātānaḥ so gñiṣṭomān daśatam samāpa adhijarāyūm* [14] *savatsān yo dadāti tam vāi devāḥ svarārohayanti* z 3 z

In pāda a read sahasvān tantum °tatāna, in b 'gni°, in c savatsām, in d ārohayanti.

adhijarāyu [15] *sva ārohayanty anena dattāḥ sudughā vayodhāḥ sahasmāi duhām* [16] *śatadhāram akṣatam amuṣmīm loke yuga uttarasmin.* z 4 z

Read adhijarāyus °ārohayaty in a, dattā in b; Ś 18. 4. 50b reads as suggested here, but dakṣiṇā is the noun. In pādas cd read saho 'smāi duhām °akṣitam amuṣmin.

pūrvavatsena [17] *sā vatsinī gāuryeṇasyā vatso ajaro jarāyuvat.* *ṛṭṭiyam māmsam* [18] *parininditam yat tasmād devā adhijarāyam āhuḥ* 5 z

In ab we should probably read gāur yenāsyā, but we should consider also gāureṇāsyā. In d read adhijarāyūm.

ā dhārāya [19] *śavasā vāvrhāno ntarā tvak sruvāde smāi | imam indra mahatā me* [20] *ni rakṣa sam prajāyā tatvā sam balena* z 6 z

In pāda b the only suggestion I can make is to read 'ntarā tvak sruva ādadhe 'smāi; but there is nothing compelling about this. In c read vi.

durvedāvasthād dha- [f140b] *hudhā parastād viśve devāḥ prati paśyanty āyatīm yā bhadrā yā sarvataḥ samici-* [2] *s sedāhur bhavatu me jarāyuh* z 7 z

In pāda a read °āvastād bahudhā, in b āyatīm, in c samīci: for d Edgerton suggests sed āhur bhavatu me 'jarāyuh.

gr̥ṣtam dhenum adhijarāyūṁ svadhām kṛṇvānaḥ [3] *pra dadhātu vrahmaṇe sahasmāi duhām sahasudhāram akṣatam amuṣmīn loka para-* [4] *me vyoman.* |

The margin gives the numeral "8." In pāda a read gr̥ṣtīm, in b dadātu, in cd saho 'smāi duhām sahasradhāram akṣitam amuṣmin.

vatsam jarāyus pradadaṣ pīyūṣam yo no dadhātu sudughām a dhenum | [5] *tasya devāpi vavarta āyuh sā rohatu sukr̥tām a lokam.*

In pāda read jarāyu pradadat, in b dadāti and u dhenum: in c devā api vavarttāyuh, in d sa āro° and u lokam. Ś 9. 9. 4c is somewhat similar to pāda a.

The margin gives the numeral "9."

parīvālām adhijarā- [6] *yūṁ nadhā jīvo yadadām da pra etām syonām śagmām śivā śiveha sā no hiṁsīr ha-* [7] *sā dāivyena z 10 z*

For the first two pādas I can make no helpful suggestion; in c I would read śivām śiveha, in d mā no and mahasā.

bhadrakṛtam sukr̥tam ādiśam bhuva saram bhuvaṁ prati gr̥hṇāsy āya- [8] *tīm | ghṛtaśrīyaṁ nabhamī samvasāno devān manuṣyāmn asurān atarhi* | 11 z

With bhuvaṁ sarām and āyatīm the first two pādas can stand. Read nabhasī in c, manuṣyān in d and probably utarṣin: this will bring d into close agreement with Ś 8. 9. 24d.

pañca [9] *devāṣ praviṣṭavanta etām itras tvaṣṭā varuṇo mittro agniḥ* | *te sarve savitur mahya-* [10] *m etām teha jīvaṁ pratiranta āyuh z 12 z*

Read indras° and mitro in pāda b, and probably 'sāviṣur in c: in d ta iha. The past ppl act is rather surprising here if it is really correct.

kaśyapo yaṁ jamadagnir vasiṣṭha ṛṣa- [11] *yo yunasya sanur agra etām | bharadvājo grāutamō artvirāmnah syonan viśvāmi-* [12] *tto daduṣaṣ pratirānty āyuh z 13 z*

Read 'yaṁ in pāda a, in b sanur and etām, but I cannot solve yunasya: in c read gotamo and possibly atrivantah or even atharvānah; in d syonam viśvāmitro, and pratiranty. Edgerton suggests atriṣ kaṇvaḥ for "artvirāmnah."

ūrjam devebhyas subhaga ūrjam manuṣyā uta | [13] ūrjam pitṛbhyo aghna ūrjam dadhatu mā viśa z 5 z

The only satisfactory procedure here seems to me to be to place the second pāda at the end; then imitating Kāuś 89.12 we can write a fairly good stanza, thus: *ūrjam devebhyas subhaga ūrjam pitṛbhyo aghnām | ūrjam dadhatu mā viśa ūrjam manuṣyā uta z 14 z 5 z*. In c dadatu me would seem better.

In the left margin opposite this stanza is *ūrjasam ṛcā*.

6

(RV 10. 97. 1-11)

[f140b13] *yā jātā oṣadhayo deve-* [14] *bhyas triyugam purā | manye na babhruṇām aham śataṁ dhāmāni satvataḥ z 1 zz* [15] *om śataṁ vo amba dhāmāni sahasram uta vo rūhaḥ | ādhā śatakratavo yūyam i* [16] *agadām kṛta | om imām me agadām kṛta z 2 z om puṣpavatiḥ prasūmati-* [17] *ṣ phalinir aphalā utā | āsvāva yasthāritvarir virūdhāṣ pārayiṣṇavaḥ 3 zz* [18] *om oṣadhī ṛta mātaro yād vo devir ūba vruve apāṁsi vighnatīr iti rākṣā-* [19] *ś cātāyamānām z 4 z niṣkṛtin nāma vo mātā niṣkṛtin nāma vaṣ pitā | sa-* [20] *dā patatṛiṇī stha yād āmayati niṣkṛtā z 5 z* [f141a] *āsvatthē vo niśadanaṁ parṇe vo vāsatiḥ kṛtā | gobhāsi tāt kilāṣita yāt sanó adhi* [2] *pāuruṣam. z 6 z yād āhā vājāyann imā oṣadhīr hāsta ādadhe | ātmā yāksma-* [3] *śya nṛsyati purā jivagṛbho yathā z 7 z ūś chūsmā oṣadhinām gāvo goṣṭhā-* [4] *d iverate | dhānam sanīṣpantinām ātmānam tāva pāuruṣaḥ 10 z yād oṣadhaya-* [5] *ś śagmāta rājānaś śāmitāv iva | vipras śa ucyate bhiṣag rakṣohāmīvacā-* [6] *tanah | āsvatīṁ somāvatīṁ ūrjāyantīṁ ūtojasam | āvītsi sārva ó-* [7] *śadhī | nṛtō mā pārayān iti z 6 z āti viśvāṣ pariṣṭhā stenāiva vrajā-* [8] *m akramet. oṣadhayaṣ prācicyavur yāt kīm ca tanvo tām śaci viśadūṣaṇam. z*

Read: *yā jātā oṣadhayo devebhyas triyugam purā | manye nu babhruṇām aham śataṁ dhāmāni sapta ca z 1 z śataṁ vo amba dhāmāni sahasram uta vo rūhaḥ | adhā śatakratavo yūyam imām me agadām kṛta z 2 z puṣpavatiḥ prasūmatiḥ phalinir aphalā uta | āsvā iva sajitvarir virūdhāṣ pārayiṣṇavaḥ z 3 z oṣadhīr iti mātaro yad vo devir ūpa vruve | rapāṁsi vighnatīr ita rakṣāś cātāyamānāḥ z 4 z niṣkṛtir nāma vo mātā niṣkṛtir nāma vaṣ pitā | sadā patatṛiṇī stha yad āmayati niṣ kṛtā z 5 z āsvatthe vo niśadanaṁ parṇe vo vāsatiḥ kṛtā | gobhāja it kilāṣatha yāt sanavatha pūruṣam*

z 6 z yad ahañ vājayann imā oṣadhīr hasta ādadhe | ātmā yakṣma-
sya naśyati purā jīvagr̥bho yathā z 7 z uc chuṣmā oṣadhīnām gavo
goṣṭhād iverate | dhanam̐ saniṣyantīnām ātmānam̐ tava pūruṣa
z 8 z yad oṣadhayas sam agmata rājānas samitāv iva | vipras sa
ucyate bhiṣag rakṣohāmīvacātanaḥ z 9 z aśvāvatiṁ somāvatīm ūr-
jayantīm udojasam | āvitsi sarvā oṣadhīr †nr̥to mā pārāyān iti
z 10 z ati viśvāḥ pariṣṭhās stena iva vrajam akramuḥ | oṣadhayaḥ
prācucyavur yat kiṁ ca tanvo rapas †taṁ śaci viśadūṣaṇam† z 11
z 6 z

For this hymn cf also VS 12. 75 ff; TS 4. 2. 6. 1; MS 2. 7. 13;
KS 16. 13; our text agrees now with one now with another of these:
but for 10d I find no parallel. It seems clear enough that the next
hymn begins as given below but the extra pāda in st 11 here makes
me suspect that some stanzas of this hymn have been lost. It is
noteworthy that the ms accents these stanzas (except the first), and
that this is the longest passage accented since Book 2.

7

[f141a9] ahijambhaś carāmasi | muṣkāvarho gavām iva | kilā
upasr̥jam [10] harmi upastambhe pr̥dākvam̐ z

Read in pāda a °jambhās and remove colon; read °barho in b,
upasr̥jan hanmy in c, and pr̥dākvam̐ in d.

ye ke celam apāśveṣur vā tr̥mdamīte niṣada- [11] lañ nr̥pa śrī
pāpate gr̥haḥ

This seems to be intended as a complete stanza but I can see
nothing in it except perhaps iṣur vā followed by a form of √tr̥d or
of √tr̥h.

aśchinnaṁ tvā vāto han̥tv aśchinnaṁ abhi varṣatu | ā [12] kulena
bheṣajena tenāhiñ jabhayāmasi | saścet tannām akṣakaḥ śayanāññ
a- [13] rasāñ aka z

In pāda a I would read āchinnaṁ, in b āchinnaṁ, in d jambh°.
It is not wholly clear that the next two pādas belong to this stanza:
in e perhaps tanvām is meant; in f read śayanāñ and akah, which
perhaps is also at the end of e; I cannot restore pāda e.

asitāharām viṣam ubhayos svajasya ca | adhikrasya yā ro- [14]
pīs tāy ito vi nayāmasi |

In pāda a read asitasyāharam; b as here is Ś 10. 4. 10b: in c the

name of a snake should stand, and *adhivakrasya* might be acceptable, or *dadhivakrasya*; in d read *tā*.

idaṁ pāidvo ajāyate idaṁ asya vivartanam | [15] *idaṁ kani-krado mago dviṣate tu parāvasam. z*

In pādas ab read *ajāyatedam*, and cf § 10. 4. 7ab; in c we might read *magho*, and d can stand if *parāvasam* is acceptable (perhaps = *parāyaṇam* in § 10. 4. 7b).

viṣūcinām vātā vahan- [16] *tu viṣvag varṣantu vṛṣṭayaḥ viṣvag viṣa pra meha tvam śatadhāra ivāvataḥ* | 3 ||

In pāda a read *viṣūcin* and *vahantu*, in b and c *viṣvag*, and in c *viṣam*. This is stanza 6.

[17] *nirataṁ haritas srja mittro vartayate ratham* | *tenāpi lal-hiya tena pi-* [18] *yūṣaṁ nahināpinah* |

In pādas ab read *srjan mitro*; I have no suggestion for cd. Edgerton would suggest *ahināśanam* at the end of d.

yenendrajasya yena nṛmṇo yena vṛttram parābhinaḥ [19] *tenā śatakrato tvam aher jātāni jambhayaṁ z 2 z*

For pāda a here I would suggest *yenendrajasya nṛmṇam*, in b *vṛttram* °*bhinat*, in d *jambhayaḥ*.

praty amodataḥ pṛthi- [20] *vī prati dyāuḥ prati sūryaḥ pāidvo yad āśvamātā krandenāhin apāva-* [f141b] *pat. rajjuś ca darśvati z šere payantīḥ pṛthivīm anu z 4 z*

Read *amodata* in a, place colon after *sūryaḥ* and also after *apāvapat*. In e I think we have to read *datvatī*, and with 'payantīḥ in f the two pādas will be readable even with *rajjuś* singular. Delete "z" in e.

āpo jīryante [2] *nāmṛta māindrānī avidhavābhavat. natvāmaste viṣvag viṣam akhānam iva sā-* [3] *yakam. z 5 z*

In ab we may probably read *nāmṛta sendrāny*; in c *nudāmas* te seems possible, followed by *viṣvag*; for *akhānam* we might read *ākhanam*; or perhaps *ākhaṇam*: the stanza seems to be a patch-work and not at all clear.

indrāgnī mittrāvaruṇas tvaṣṭāram aditīm bhagam | *hwayam ar-vaṇtaṁ* [4] *pāidvam mā nayaṁ puruṣo viṣat.*

In pāda a read °*varuṇā*, in c *hwayāmo* 'rvaṇcaṁ, for d *mā* no 'yaṁ *puruṣo* *viṣat*.

*sadyo jāto kanikradat. | solvo dya dhūnataṣ krandenā- [5] śvasya
vājino hanyantv āhaya prthak. z 6 zz zz ity atharvaṇipāi- [6]
paladayās śākhāyām ekādaśo dhyāyas samāptāḥ zz zz*

Read: sadyo jāto 'kanikradat sa ulvo 'dhy adhūnuta | krandenā-
śvasya vājino hanyantāhayaḥ prthak z 12 z 7 z

ity atharvaṇikapāippalādāyām śākhāyām ekādaśo 'dhyāyas sa-
māptāḥ zz zz

In pāda d we might let hanyantv stand reading after it ahayaḥ.

BRIEF NOTES

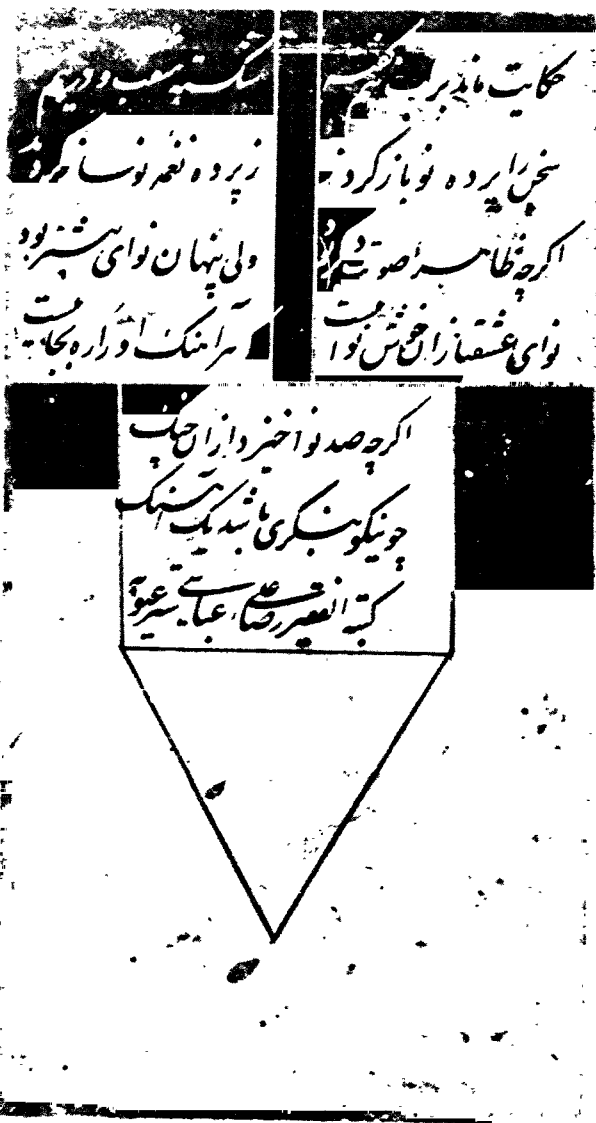
A New Manuscript of Ali Riza Abbasi.

The famous Persian painter of the first half of the 17th century, Ali Riza Abbasi, is well known as a miniaturist in his native country and in Europe. That is very natural because a great quantity of his miniatures and drawings have been preserved until our time. For this reason, we have in European technical literature many works dealing with his painting.¹

But Ali Riza's ability as a calligrapher, celebrated in his time, is less known to us in consequence of the rarity of the manuscripts written by his hand. Of complete manuscripts we have only three, which are in the Russian Public Library at Petersburg (Dorn, Catalogue, p. 290, N 302; Dorn, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, VI, pp. 97 and 103, Nos. 3 and 18) and one separate sheet in the British Museum (Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Vol. 2, p. 782, Add. 23609).

I am very happy to call attention to a fourth manuscript book by our calligrapher, which is in the possession of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. This manuscript contains the Mesnevi (poem) "Ferhad and Shirin" of Vahshi, a mediocre Persian poet of the 16th century. He was born in Bafik, Kirman, spent nearly the whole of his life in Yazd, and died there about 1583 A. D. His love-story of Ferhad and Shirin is an imitation of Nizami's poem "Khosraw and Shirin" and is written in the same metre, *hazaj*. "Ferhad and Shirin" was left unfinished by the author (Rieu, *op. cit.* Vol. 2, p. 663). Manuscript copies of this work are not uncommon; for instance, the British Museum possesses five (Or. 318, Or. 326, Add. 6634, Add. 7721, Suppl. 308; see Rieu, *Catalogue*), and in other European libraries there are many others. Moreover, this poem has been lithographed twice in Teheran (A. H. 1263 and 1275 = A. D. 1847 and 1858), once in Calcutta (A. H. 1249 = A. D. 1833) and twice in Bombay (A. H. 1274 and 1312 =

¹ For instance: F. Sarre, "Riza Abbasi, ein persischer Miniaturmaler," *Kunst und Künstler*, October 1910; J. von Karabacek, "Riza-i Abbasi, ein persischer Miniaturmaler," *Sitzungsber. d. K. Akademie d. Wiss. zu Wien, philos.-histor. Klasse*, B. 167, Abh. 1, 1911; F. Sarre-E. Mittwoch, "Zu Josef von Karabacek 'Riza-i Abbasi,'" *Der Islam*, 2, 196; F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters in Persia, India, and Turkey*, London 1912; F. Sarre-E. Mittwoch, *Zeichnungen von Riza Abbasi*, München 1914; and so on.



The last line contains the signature of Ali Riza Abbasi.

A. D. 1857 and 1894). The last edition we have in the New York Central Public Library (*OMO).

Our manuscript (Access. No. 23.28) is the gift of Dr. Vladimir G. Simkhovitch, who bought it in New York of Riza Khan Monif, whose father was once governor of one of the Persian provinces. The size of the manuscript in binding is $9\frac{7}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$ in., without binding $9\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ in.; written space $6\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{5}{8}$ in. The binding is of mediocre quality, tooled brown leather slightly embossed with gold and decorated with a design impressed upon the leather and gilded.

There are 44 folios. The writing is Nastaliq, 12 lines to a page in two columns with salmon outline and narrow bands of blue, gold, red and green colors. The outer border of the pages is light blue. The paper of the text, glued upon the blue space, is cream colored with gold specks. The writing, careless enough, very often without diacritical points, is in black ink, but the titles are in red. The title-page of the manuscript (fol. 1b) is decorated in the upper part with floral arabesques in blue, red, and yellow on gold and dark blue backgrounds. Fol. 2a is decorated with animal scenes in gold on a broad light-blue border.

On the last page, 44a, after the verses we find this line: "Ali Riza Abbasi, the poor, has written it." In this line lies the whole value of our manuscript, because, as I mentioned above, it is the fourth of the known works of Ali Riza, as calligrapher. The evidence of this sentence is confirmed by the signature, which may be seen in the accompanying photograph; it agrees in every respect with Ali's well-known signature.

I am much obliged to Mr. J. Breck, Curator of the Department of Decorative Arts of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for his kind permission to publish this photograph.

NICHOLAS N. MARTINOVITCH.
Formerly of the University of Petrograd.

New York City.

Lexicographical notes

The grammar and lexicography of the Assyrian code of laws deserves fuller study than it has yet received. The following suggestions are but a small contribution to the subject.

1. In Schroeder's *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, p. 3, kol. ii, l. 80

the word *i-ga-ad-di-mu-uš* has caused difficulty. It occurs in the statement of the punishments inflicted upon a man who has slandered another man's wife. Jastrow (*JAOS* 41. 20) rendered it "they summon him," taking it from the stem קרם. This seems inappropriate, however, as the preceding clause reads, "they shall give him forty strokes." If they have to whip him, they do not need to summon him. Scheil, (*Lois assyriennes*, p. 21) rendered "on le coupera (châtera?)." I would take the verb from נָרַם, as Scheil evidently did, which is used in the Mishna and Talmud in the sense of "cut" (Jastrow, *Talmudic Dictionary*, p. 213), and render "they shall crop" or "mutilate him."

2. In the same code (Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 16, kol. iv, 12) the phrase *šum-ma amelu ta-hu-ú-ma raba-a ša-a tap-pa-i-šu us-sa-am-mi-ih* is not easy to translate. Jastrow took it from *samāhu* 'to add,' translating "if a man extends a large boundary from his companion" (*ibid.* p. 54). Scheil (*op. cit.* pp. 95 ff.) translated "Si quelqu'un la grande limite (du champ) de son voisin a réduit," giving to the verb a meaning the exact opposite of that given by Jastrow. I propose to connect the verb with the Arabic root *šamaha*, 'be high,' 'lofty,' with which the meaning 'add,' recognized by Muss-Arnolt (*Dictionary*, 766a) shows that it is akin, and render "If a man carries up a boundary greatly on to that which is his neighbor's."

3. On page 18 of the same text, kol. vii, *it-tam-ra-a-ak* is an unusual word. It occurs in a passage relating to the working of the field of one's neighbor, but the beginnings of all the lines are broken away. Jastrow did not attempt to translate it. Scheil translates (*op. cit.* p. 109), "il est redevable." I propose to connect it with the Talmudic מַרְק (*Jastrow, Dictionary*, 846b), 'to brighten,' 'cleanse,' and render "he shall be forgiven." So far as one can tell from the broken lines, this would suit the context.

University of Pennsylvania.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The Executive Committee by unanimous vote has elected the following to membership in the Society:

Mr. Samuel Feigin
Mrs. H. D. Kindt

Mr. Mitford C. Massie

THE HISTORY OF THE CANON OF THE CHINESE CLASSICS

HSÜ TI-SHAN

PEKING UNIVERSITY

Chapter I: The Names of the Classics during the Chou Dynasty.

A COLLECTION of bamboo slips bound with a cord and prepared for writing is called a *Ts'ê*, (冊). The old form of this character is 冊, indicating five bamboo slips bound together with two strings. The *Shuo-wen* (說文) dictionary (written about 100 A. D.) uses the word *Fu-Ming* (符命), a warrant or commission, to explain the character *Ts'ê*, saying that the feudal princes received the *Ts'ê* from the king. The character is sometimes written 策,¹ which is also pronounced *Ts'ê*.

The *Ts'ê* is a warrant from the king. When bamboo slips were called *Ts'ê*, they were important governmental documents sent to feudal princes as announcements or commands, ordering the princes to do certain things for the king. This explanation is clearly stated in the book *Shih-ming* (釋名, the Explanation of Words) in the chapter *Shih-shu-ch'i* (釋書契, Explanation of Documents). Here it is explained that *Ts'ê* is a commission from one of higher rank investing one of lower rank with authority. The length of each slip in a *Ts'ê* must be exactly two feet four inches. So in the preface of the *Analects of Confucius* it is stated that the *Ch'un-ch'iu* (春秋, Spring and Autumn Annals) is written on slips two feet four inches in length. To record less important events there were used instead of *Ts'ê* objects known as *Chien* (簡, single bamboo slips) and *Tu* (牘, writing boards of wood). In the *I-Li* in the chapter entitled *P'ing-li-chi* (聘禮記), or Rite of Betrothal, it is stated: "If any event requires a hundred characters or more, it must be written on *Ts'ê*; if less than a hundred characters are required, then it should be written on *Fang* (方, small tablets of wood). The *Tso-chuan* (左傳, a commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals) says: "When a state is exterminated, unless the victor-

¹ A borrowed word; its original form is 策 and means a whip.

ious general reports to the royal court that his enemy has been defeated and that he has gained the victory, the event should not be written on *Ts'ê*.”² It is also stated in the Preface of the *Tso-chuan*: “Important events should be written on *Ts'ê*, and more usual affairs on *Chien* or *Tu*.”

According to the annotations (*Shu 疏*) of the Preface of the *Tso-chuan*, the difference between *Chien* and *Ts'ê* is that *Chien* is a single slip, not bound by any cord, and that a *Ts'ê* consists of several *Chien* bound together. A large quantity of *Ts'ê* would be known as *Tien* (典). Whenever the king bestowed upon a prince authority over a vassal state, it was necessary that the master of oracles (祝, *Chu*), priests (宗 *Tsung*), diviners (卜 *Pu*), and historiographers (史 *Shih*, sometimes translated scribes) should be present, and should have with them all important documents, both *Tien* and *Ts'ê*. All successful policies of ancient rulers were recorded on such *Tien* and *Ts'ê*, in order that state princes should have such writings as models.

These feudal princes preserved the documents which they received from the royal court and respected them almost as holy scriptures. They were often placed on a small bench (几 *chi*) in order to prevent the lacquer characters from being defaced and to prevent the string which bound the slips together from being broken. The *Shuo-wen* dictionary explains the word *Tien* (典) as the books of the Five Rulers. According to this dictionary the character indicates a *Ts'ê* (冊) placed on a bench (几 *chi*) in order properly to preserve the bamboo slips.

A *Tien* contained a very large number of slips and was heavy. It could not easily be moved. The classics were originally considered to be government records which were kept in the various states as model codes. In the preface of the biography of Confucian scholars in the History of the Han dynasty (漢書儒林傳, *Han-shu ru-lin chuan*) it is stated that “the *Liu-i* (六藝) or Six Departments of Arts are the *Tien* or *Chih* (籍, records), containing royal announcements.” The term *Liu-tien* (六典, six sorts of documents) in the *Chou-li* (周禮) was explained by a commentator as *Ch'ang* (常, constant, or constant procedure), *Ching* (經, principle or canon), and *Fa* (法, law, code, or method).

² See the *chuan* of Yün Kung (11th year).

It is usually considered that all documents before the time of Confucius may be called *Tien*. Those *Tien* which were kept at the royal court were called *Li-ching* (禮經), the ritual canon, for they contained the constant principle by which the king was supposed to govern his realm. When these *Tien* were preserved by the feudal princes, they were called *Li-fa* (禮法), Ritual Code, for they were kept by these princes as formal codes for the governing of their states. The *Tso-chuan* records that as Han Hsüan-tzū (韓宣子) went to the state of Lu and was reading the illustration of the Diagrams of the Book of Changes (I-hsiang) and the Spring and Autumn Annals, he spoke approvingly and said: "All the rites (*li*, 禮) of Chou are observed in the Duchy of Lu." He called the Book of Changes and the Spring and Autumn Annals by the appellation *Li*. From this it seems evident that all of the classics were commonly called by this name.

The term *Wen* (文, literature) is often used by Confucius to indicate the ancient documents. In the Analects there are numerous examples of this. Confucius says for instance: "If you have a reserve of energy beside what is needed for your daily tasks, then study the *Wen*." The commentator, in explaining this passage, says that the *Wen* means "the literature bequeathed from ancient periods." In another note this "bequeathed" literature is explained as referring to the six classics. The classics were sometimes called "the literature bequeathed by ancient rulers." Confucius said: "A princely man must have extensive learning in literature (*Wen*)"; also "Since the death of King Wen has literature (*Wen*) remained here?". The commentary on this passage states, "The Master is instructing his disciples in four things, 'Literature' (*Wen*), 'Conduct,' 'Loyalty,' and 'Faithfulness.' Here again *Wen* is explained as "literature bequeathed by the ancient rulers."

Most of the literature that was thus bequeathed and handed down by tradition consisted of government records. They were studied by the scribes for the purpose of understanding how to follow the example of the past, and how, by this study, to solve the problems of the present. So these documents were the text books of the ancient schools. During the Chou dynasty the classics were often called by the name *Shu* (術). The literal meaning of this word is "district roads," but here it means "tech-

nique." A chapter in the *Li-chi* called The Regulation for Kings *Wang-chih* (王制), makes the statement: "The Grand Musician studies the Four *Shu* (四術) and establishes the four kinds of instruction. He supplies the Book of Odes, the Canon of History, the Book of Rites, and the Book of Music for the instruction of pupils." Here the name *Shu* is given to all the classics. So *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* (呂氏春秋) states that both Confucius and Mo-Ti are men who honor the study of the *Shu* of the ancient rulers.

A document which leads people along the way of success may be said to correspond to a district road which gives the right direction to a city. Through this figure of speech a new term *Tao-shu* arose (道術). *Tao* means either a way, or to lead, indicating that the classics are a highway, or that they lead one along the right way. Chuang-tzū says: "The men of old times have said that there is a *Tao-shu*, but in what does it really consist? It is omnipresent. If it consists of the Book of Odes, the Canon of History, the Book of Rites, and the Book of Music, most of the scholars of the state of Lu and Tsou and the 'Red-Girdle Sires' can understand it thoroughly. The Odes show the way of explaining the will; the Canon explains events; the Rites explain conduct; the Book of Music explains peace; the Book of Changes explains the positive and negative principles; and the Spring and Autumn Annals explain obligations (名分, *Ming fen*)."³ Chuang-tzū, being a Taoist philosopher, naturally gives a very wide scope to the term *Tao-shu*, but it is usually applied to the classics as a whole.

The term *Ching* is now used as a common name for the classics. This term is much newer than those that have been mentioned above. In the book *Wen-sin-tiao-lung* (文心雕龍), a work of literary criticism by Liu Hsieh, c. 6th cent. A. D., it is stated: "The books of *Fu-hsi*, *Shen-nung* and *Huang-ti* are called *San-fan* (three knolls), for they signify the Great Way. The books of *Shao-hao*, *Chuan-hsü*, *Kao-sin*, and the dynasties of T'ang and Yü are called *Wu-tien* (five codes), for they signify the 'Constant Way.' All the mysteries of the Yü, Hsia, Shang, and Chou dynasties were reasoned out according to the Eight Trigrams, and they are, therefore, called the *Pa-su*

³ See Tien-hsia-pien, Book of Chuang-tzū.

(八 索, the eight comprehensions)." A work on the geography of the nine divisions of the Empire (*Chiu-chou*, 九州) is called the *Chiu-ch'iu* (九丘). *Ch'iu* (丘), means to gather together, and implies that all the products, customs and phases of climate of the nine divisions of the Empire are gathered together in this book.

It is here to be noted that some of the books in this ancient period were not included under the name *Ching* (經). The use of the name *Ching* is not earlier than the Chou Dynasty. Yin Chih-chang (尹知章), in commenting on the phrase *Szū-ching* (四經, four classics) in the book of *Kuan-tzu* (管子), says that the Book of Odes, the Book of History, the Book of Rites, and the Book of Music are called the *Szū-ching* or Four Classics. Moreover, Cheng K'ang-ch'eng (鄭康成), in commenting on Confucius's phrase "a princely man considers the *Ching-luen*" (經論), in the Interpretation of the T'uan Trigram of the Book of Changes, states that the phrase *Ching-luen* means "the discussions of the Book of History, the Book of Rites and the Book of Music for carrying on political affairs." In Hsün-tsu's (荀子) *Ch'uen-hsüeh-pien* (勸學篇), we find the sentence: "Its course begins with reciting the *Ching* and ends with reading the Book of Rites." The word *Ching* is explained also by Yang Liang (楊倞), who says it means the Book of Odes and the Book of History. From these statements by various commentators and from the phrase *li ching* (離經), a phrase which has to do with the punctuation of the classics, in the *Hsüeh-chi* (學記), a section of the Book of Rites, it would seem that whatever documents were used for study in schools were called *ching*. The original meaning of the word *ching* according to the *Shuo-wen* (a dictionary of the first century A. D.) is to weave, or, in other words, to string together, bamboo slips. Later, the word was used as synonymous with the characters *tien* (典), *chang* (常), *tao* (道), *li* (理), and so forth.

The practice of using the term *ching* for the classics in general is taken from a chapter in the *Li-chi* (Book of Rites), called *Ching-chiai* (經解), which is interpreted to mean an explanation of the classics. It is said here that documents used for school text books have the right to be called *ching*. In the *Ching-chiai* there are six books of *ching* listed, the Book of Odes, the Book

of History, the Book of Changes, the Book of Music, the Book of Rites, and the Spring and Autumn Annals. It is known that before the time of Confucius only four books were considered as school text books. The Book of Changes and the Spring and Autumn Annals were not included. These two books were kept by the grand historiographers in the Royal Court and the Courts of the leading states. The *Ching-chiai*, being written long after the time of Confucius, included these two additional books of *ching*. However, according to Kwan-tzu, there were still other books taught in the schools of the state of Ch'i. In addition to the Book of Odes there was a book on the Calendar, or Time, (時), a book on Divination (卜), and a book called 'the Book of Hsing' (行), which may perhaps be translated 'investigation of social events.'⁴ This leads us to wonder whether the information which we have with regard to the educational system of the Chou Dynasty is very complete, and whether that education was as uniform as is sometimes supposed. Ch'i and Lu were the two most civilized states of the time, yet the school curricula of these two states were quite different. So far as we can see, every state in the Middle Kingdom had the first four classics as a definite part of the curriculum, and in addition to these others were added in different states, either as a part of the ordinary curriculum or for special study at the residence of the officer in charge of education. This means that while the Four Classics had to be studied everywhere uniformly, others could be added according to the particular needs of various states.

On the other hand the word *ching* is sometimes explained as being synonymous with the word *shu* (術), which means 'a street.' Such documents are considered as ways to efficiency as city streets are ways by which the citizen reaches his desired destination.

Before the time of Confucius' revision, all the classics seem to have been considered as of equal value. The number of documents to be included in each one of these classics was apparently settled by Confucius. There are two sections in the Book of Chuang-tzū, in which Confucius's work on the classics is considered. The one passage (in the chapter *T'ien-tao*, 天道) states that Confucius interpreted the Twelve Classics. The other pas-

⁴ See Chapter on Shan-ch'uen-shu-p'ien, in Kuan-tzū (山權數篇).

sage in the chapter *T'ien-yün* (天運) reports Confucius' statement to Lao-tzū: "I, K'ung Ch'iu (Confucius), have revised the Odes, the Book of History, the Book of Rites, the Book of Music, the Book of Changes, and the Spring and Autumn Annals,—the Six Classics." What was meant by the Twelve Classics in the first quotation is unknown. Some scholars explain it as the Six Classics and the Six Apocalyptic Books; others as the Book of Changes, the Shang-ching, Hsia-ching, and the Ten Wings. The Six Classics were clearly enumerated by the Master. He considered these to be the six because they contained the principles of the way of the ancient rulers (Wang-tao, 王道). So he believed that these Six Books should be read in all schools.

Chapter II: The Canon after the Chou Dynasty.

During the persecution that took place under the Ts'in Dynasty the Six Classics were scattered and almost all extant copies were destroyed in the burning of the books. When the scholars of the Han Dynasty began to reconstruct the canon, they were possessed by an idea that everything must fit into a category represented by the number five. There were five elements,—metal, wood, water, fire and earth; five constant virtues,—humility, rectitude, courtesy, knowledge and faith; five relationships, and a whole series of other fives. In order to fit the classics into the same plan and to make them correspond to the Five Constant Virtues, one of the six must be dropped. The *I-wen-chih* (藝文志), the record of literature in the Book of Han, dropped out the Book of Changes, saying: "The purpose of music is to make peace and harmony of spirit. It is the expression of humanity or benevolence. The Book of Odes exemplifies rectitude or righteousness. The Book of Rites shows dignity and manifests courtesy. The Canon of History displays knowledge and widens human understanding. The Spring and Autumn Annals is the foundation of faith, for it is our criterion for judgment. These five correspond to the Five Constant Virtues. The Book of Changes is the source of them all. It is, therefore, not included in the five." *Pai-hu-t'ung-teh-luen* (白虎通德論),⁵ "Dis-

⁵ Usually called *Pai-hu-t'ung*, written by Pan Ku, the author of 'The Book of Han.'

cussion of the Universal Virtues at the White Tiger Hall," made two enumerations of the Five Classics. In the one he (Pan Ku) omitted the Spring and Autumn Annals, in the other the Book of Music. He says: "As there are Five Constant Virtues, so there are Five Classics. Music manifests benevolence. The Book of History manifests righteousness. The Rites manifest courtesy. The Book of Changes manifests knowledge. And the Odes manifest faith. The Five Feelings and the Five Constant Virtues in human nature could not of themselves attain to completeness. The sage, therefore, brought together the doctrines of the Five Rulers in Heaven in order to teach people how to fulfil the Five Virtues." Yang Hsiung (揚雄) in his book *Fa-yen* (法言) makes the statement: "For explaining Heaven there is nothing clearer than the Book of Changes. For judging affairs the Book of History is the clearest book. For explaining dignity the Book of Rites is the best. For explaining the will there is no book better than the Odes. And for explaining civil relations the Spring and Autumn Annals is of all books the most distinct." It was considered quite reasonable to omit the Book of Music, as the *Ts'u-hsüeh-chi* (初學記) makes the statement: "The Book of Changes, the Book of History, the Odes, the Book of Rites, the Book of Music, and the Spring and Autumn Annals were counted in ancient times as the Six Classics. After the books were burnt during the Ts'in Dynasty, the Book of Music disappeared. So now we have the Book of Changes, the Odes, the Book of History, the Book of Rites, and the Spring and Autumn Annals; these are the Five Classics."

The term *Liu-i*, or the Six Departments of Arts, was borrowed by the scholars of the Han Dynasty from an old term, which had meant in earlier times the Six Arts of the lower schools. These were propriety, music, archery, chariot-driving, language, and mathematics. The term *Ta-i* (大藝), or 'Great Arts' had previously been applied to the classics, but had never been much used before the time of the Han Dynasty. The term *Ta-i* had been used as the antithesis of *Hsiao-i*, small or junior arts. Under the Han Dynasty there were a number of teachers of the classics, who went by the name of *Po-shih* (博士), who taught young pupils according to the manner that was in vogue in the Junior schools of the Chou Dynasty. It was for this reason that the

term *Liu-i* was used for the text books. The second word of this phrase *I* (藝) was formerly written *nieh* (臬). According to the Shuo-wen Dictionary the word *nieh* means the bull's-eye of a target. The idea was that teachers in educating their pupils must have an aim and therefore the word *nieh*, target, was applied. By a phonetic change this was later modified to *i*.

The *ching*, as we have seen, were the text books used in schools. In addition to these, books of commentaries for the use of teachers came gradually to be prepared. Some of these books of commentaries became very popular, and were established as important works. They were called *chuan* (傳). Almost every classic has its *chuan*. In the *Kung-yang chuan* (公羊傳) we read "the host studied the punctuation, then asked for the *chuan*" (傳). The word *chuan* means a commentary and it was always a commentary written after the work was complete. For instance, when the sentence appears in the Analects, "Do you not study the *chuan*?" the scholars of Lu interpreted the question as meaning, "Do you not study the short slips of bamboo?" Short slips of bamboo were therefore called *chuan*. According to the *Shuo-wen* the word *chuan* meant a bamboo slip six inches long. On the one hand, therefore, the difference between *ching* and *chuan* is the fact that, as Po-Wu chi (博物志) states it, "*ching* are composed by the sages, while *chuan* scarcely ever record the words of the greatest men." On the other hand the difference is also in the length of the slips. As a commentary for the use of teachers was considered inferior to the original text of a classic or a government document, such a commentary could not be written on *ts'ê* (冊), or long slips, but must be written on *chuan*. The word *chuan*, therefore, which originally had the meaning of short bamboo slips, came to mean commentaries and later had a verbal significance,—to hand down, interpret or record.

There were many *chuan* in existence before the time of Confucius. Mencius often speaks of different matters as referred to in the *chuan*. Although it is impossible to say that the *chuan* referred to in Mencius were necessarily written before the time of Confucius, we have indication of this fact in Sze-ma Ch'ien's History where it is stated that Confucius wrote a preface for the *chuan* of the Canon of History. Mo Ti frequently quotes from the *chuan* to substantiate his statements and often even intro-

duces his quotations with the phrase *chuan yüeh* (as stated in the *chuan*). In the general commentary of the Canon of History (經書大傳) this same phrase *chuan yüeh* is used by Fu Shên. This same phrase occurs in many ancient books. According to tradition the *Sang-fu-chuan* (喪服傳), a commentary on the Book of Mourning, was written by Tzū Hsia, a disciple of Confucius. Even in this book the phrase *chuan yüeh* frequently occurs. Sze-ma Chien makes the surprising statement that there were more than ten thousand different commentaries, or *chuan*, of the Six Classics. (It must here be remembered that the term 'ten thousand' is often used loosely in Chinese like the English word 'myriad.') There is a great variety of *chuan*. They consist of general commentaries, prefaces, descriptions, and appendices.

During the early part of the Han Dynasty, scholars, as we have seen, were including the Book of Filial Piety (孝經) and the Analects (Luen Yü) in the Six Departments of Arts, but they still refused to dignify these two books with the term *ching*. The Chou Li and the I Li were considered *ching*, and the Li Chi was a commentary (*chuan*) of the Chou Li and the I Li. The commentaries of Tso Chiu-ming, K'ung Yang-kao, and Ku Liang-chi were considered the *chuan* of the Spring and Autumn Annals (春秋). In the same way the Ten Wings were considered the *chuan* of the Book of Changes, and the Er-ya (爾雅) was the *chuan* of the Odes and the Canon of History. The Book of Mencius belonged to the Works of the Masters. These were not at this time accepted as *ching*, but later they came to be so considered. In the Book of the Later Han Dynasty (後漢書) and in the Record of the Three Kingdoms (三國志) the term 'Seven Classics' (七經) is found.

This is explained by the fact that during the Early Han Dynasty the Analects were included with the Six Classics, thus making seven, while during the later Han Dynasty, the Book of Filial Piety (孝經) was substituted for the Book of Music. In the preface of the Analects it is said: "The Book of Filial Piety was written on twelve-inch bamboo slips, while the slips on which the Analects were written were only eight inches in length." These two books, therefore, could not in the early period have been considered *ching*, for *ching* were necessarily written on twenty-four inch slips. On the other hand they were written

by disciples of the Master, and the slips, while not twenty-four inches long, were yet longer than those on which the *chuan* were written.

When we come to the T'ang Dynasty, we find Nine Classics (九經) referred to. In the Book of T'ang it is said that Ch'u Sui-liang designated Ku Na-lü as the keeper of the Nine Classics. The Nine Classics here referred to were the Book of Changes, the Odes, and the Book of History; the Chou Li, the I Li, and the Li Chi; and the Three *chuan* (Tso chuan, Kung-yang chuan, and Ku-liang chuan) of the Spring and Autumn Annals.

During the Sung Dynasty, the Analects, the Book of Filial Piety, the Er-ya and Mencius were added, and the term 'Thirteen Classics' came to be used. Later under the influence of the philosophers of this time, the two Ch'engs and Chu Hsi, two chapters, the Doctrine of the Mean (中庸), and the Great Learning (大學), were taken from the Li Chi and made into separate books. These two, with the Analects and Mencius, then came to be regarded as the Four Books or the Four Books of the Masters. Since that time every student beginning the study of the Chinese classics reads the Four Books as the first part of his work. There were a few scholars who added to the Thirteen Classics the *Ta-t'ai-li-chi* (大戴禮記), making the total fourteen, but this arrangement did not last long.

The order of the classics was fixed during the T'ang Dynasty by Lu Tê-ming (陸德明), who gave his opinion in the book entitled *Ching-tien-shih-wen* (經義釋文). According to his arrangement, the Book of Changes, being handed down from the time of Fu Hsi and being the source of civilization, is naturally the first. The Book of History, beginning as it does at the end of the period of the Five Rulers, follows the Book of Changes. The *Mao-shih* (the Book of Odes as arranged by the critical School of Mao) contains some poems of the Shang period, and so must rank third. The three books on Rites, the Chou Li, the I Li, and the Li Chi were composed during the early part of the Chou Dynasty and must therefore come next. Next follows the Spring and Autumn Annals, because it was written by Confucius; and following that its three commentaries in their natural order of sequence. The Book of Filial Piety, being also a composition of Confucius but not as important as the Spring and Autumn

Annals (which contains the teaching of the Duke of Chou), comes next in order following the commentaries of the Annals and preceding the Analects. Curiously enough the Books of Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu follow the Analects, as the Court during the T'ang Dynasty favored Taoism and included these books in the canon. The list ends finally with the Er-ya, Mencius being entirely omitted to make room for the two Taoist books mentioned above.

BRIEF NOTE

Old Persian niyaθārāyam, Bh. 1. 64

This form is a ἀπαξ λεγόμενον in the Old Persian inscriptions. Its meaning, "I restored," is nowhere questioned, but the explanations offered of its morphology seem to me insufficient. Bartholomae says in *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie*, I. 1. p. 56: "Die Reduplication enthält zwei Wurzelconsonanten mit ā (idg. ē) dahinter. jAw. fra-γrāγrāye^{ti} (wofür wohl γrāγray^o zu lesen, . . .): gr. ἐγρήγορε. Daneben findet sich frāγrāraye^{ti}, das sich dazu etwa verhalten wird, wie lat. scicidit zu got. skaiskaiþ. Analog erklärt sich jAw. ni-srārayā und ap. niy-a-θārāyam, die zu jAw. nis^{ti}rinao^{ti} gehören." Johnson also in his *Historical Grammar of the Ancient Persian Language*, § 449, classifies this form as an Intensive, and in § 363 says that the present system reduplication in Old Persian shows either i of I. E. or has a representing I. E. e.¹ He quotes the forms of $\sqrt{sthā}$ and $\sqrt{dā}$ (thruout this paper roots are quoted in their Sanskrit form) respectively as supporting his statement. Meillet in his *Grammaire du Vieux Perse* (p. 104) says of θārāya-, which he transcribes qārāya-: "Il s'agit évidemment d'une formation à redoublement."²

The difficulty lies in the -ā- of the reduplicated syllable. Meillet was apparently attempting to do away with this obstacle when he suggested (l. c.) that θārāya- might equally well be a formation on a root cognate with Skt. $\sqrt{trā}$ "rescue." This would be a sufficient explanation for the Old Persian form if it were not for the YAv. nistrārayā.³ tr would appear in Avestan as θr, cf. O. P. puθra and YAv. puθra with Skt. putra. We must cling to the usual etymology.

In Sanskrit all verbs of the third class show an i-vowel in the reduplicated syllable or else the weak grade of the root vowel. It is, of course, a generally accepted fact that the normal vowel of present reduplication is I. E. i while the vowel of perfect reduplication is I. E. e. If, therefore, a word shows a deviation from this

¹ This same statement is also made for Indo-Iranian in other places: Brugmann, *Grundriss d. vergleich. Gram. d. indoger. Sprachen* II¹, §§ 555 and 556; KVG, § 641; Thumb, *Hdb. d. Sanskrit*, § 450 (Brugmann, l. c., is not so sure in regard to κέκλυθι as is Thumb); Reichelt, *Avestisches Elementarbuch*, § 181.

² At the same time he lists this form under the formative -aya-.

³ Reichelt also, *op. cit.*, § 196j, classes this as an Intensive.

mode, its peculiarity must be explained; if possible, by some special influence, rather than referred to an inherited difference. All the accounts of present reduplication speak of a reduplicating vowel *e* in addition to the regular *i*, and quote, as a rule, to support the statement the Sanskrit forms *dadhāti* and *dadāti*. What we have, however, in the presents of $\sqrt{adhā}$ and $\sqrt{dā}$ and in all other deviations from the normal vowel of reduplicated syllables is assimilation of the vowel of the reduplicated syllable to the vowel of the root syllable. This is the phenomenon attested to by Lith. *dū'ste* and O. Slav. *daste*; why explain these forms as arising from an "Umbildung von uridg. **de-dō-mi*," as Brugmann does in *KVG*, § 641, rather than from an "Umbildung" of I. E. **dī-dō-mi*, the existence of which is proved by Gk. *δίδομυ*? Furthermore, all the Intensive stems on roots whose radical vowel is *i* appear in Skt. with *e* = p. I. Ir. *ai* in the reduplicated syllable (cf. *veveti* from \sqrt{vid} and *seseti* from \sqrt{si}). We should, therefore, expect to find in the word under discussion a form **niyaθ'airayam*.⁴

The forms *niyaθ'ārayam* and *nīsrārayā*, however, are not necessarily to be explained as Intensives. They may be causatives owing their peculiar formation to contamination with a word of similar meaning and form. Since $\sqrt{śri}$ is transitive a causative formation on it will not change the meaning. "I leaned something down" and "I caused" or "had somebody lean something down" are essentially equivalent. Therefore, there can be no objection from the standpoint of meaning to taking the forms under discussion as causatives.

The Skt. $\sqrt{śri}$ has a causative *śrāpayati* with a form *śrāyayati* quoted by the grammarians.⁵ Correspondents to these causative formations are nowhere quoted for Iranian.⁶ Nevertheless, I feel

⁴ Accepting the explanation of Bartholomae and others for the consonantism.

⁵ The type of formation shown by *śrāyayati* is found in Skt. for the following roots in -i: *i* (go), *ci* (gather), *smi*, and *si*. It is quoted by the grammarians and lexicographers for: *ri*, *jri*, *vi* (weave), *śvi*, *śi*, and *hi*. The type shown by *śrāpayati* is found for: *i* (go), *ji* (conquer), *mi* (damage), and *smi*, and quoted for: *ci* (gather) and *mi* (fix). Skt. *kṣi* (possess) shows *kṣayaya* and *kṣepayat*, *kṣi* (destroy) shows *kṣayayati* and *kṣapayati*. For Skt. *ri* a form *repaya* is also quoted.

⁶ Bartholomae in *Grd. d. iran. Philologie*, I. 1. p. 84, states that causative formations like Skt. *sthāpayati* are not found in Iranian. He considers *frašāupayeiti* (Yt. 8, 33) corrupt.

justified because of the Sanskrit in assuming a form **niyaθ'āyayam*.⁷ A word similar to this in form and meaning⁸ would be **niyadārayam*.⁹ This form, also transitive, would mean: "I held something down," that is, "I maintained" or "established it," or "I had it established." The fact that the type of causative formation quoted above for Skt. $\sqrt{śri}$ is not found in Iranian, and that Sanskrit shows a tendency to substitute a *p* for the first *y*, goes to show that the repetition of the syllable *ya* was disliked. It seems very likely, therefore, that a form **niyaθ'āyayam*, which was destined to disappear, could easily be transformed, under the influence of a word of similar formation and meaning, **niyadārayam*, to *niyaθ'ārayam*.¹⁰

Lehigh University.

JAMES R. WARE.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Inscriptions. Vol. I: *Sumerian and Semitic Religious and Historical Texts.* Vol. II: *Historical Inscriptions, containing principally the Chronological Prism, W-B. 444.* By S. LANGDON, M. A. London: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS; 1923, iv + 60 pp. + 45 plates and iii + 36 pp. + 7 plates.

These are the first volumes of an important series of texts, known as the Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Inscriptions (var., Texts), edited under the direction of Professor Langdon. The

⁷ The *p*-causative is the result of analogical extension and peculiar to Skt., cf. *Gdr. d. iran. Philologie*, I. 1. p. 84, § 151b (next to last paragraph).

⁸ The possibility of the semantic equivalence of these two words is seen in Skt. where the Petersburg Lexicon gives *niṽēri* = etwa *niederlegen* and *niṽāhṛ* = *niederlegen in, bewahren, behalten*.

⁹ Altho a causative formation for *niṽāhṛ* is not quoted for Iranian, the causative is found for the simple root (cf. O. P. *dārayāmiy* and *adāraya*). There can be, therefore, no valid objection to the same formation in the compound.

¹⁰ If some should still insist on calling this form an Intensive, contamination with a **niyadārayam* would give an explanation for the peculiar *ā*. Such was the explanation that I was offering for the form until Professor R. G. Kent suggested that it might very probably be a causative. The latter is, I believe, the true explanation. The writer's thanks are due to Professor F. Edgerton for helpful suggestions, as well as to Professor Kent.

Series contemplates the publication of the tablets presented to the University by Mr. H. Weld-Blundell of Queen's College and the material that may accrue to the University from the excavations of the Oxford-Field Museum expedition to Kish under the direction of Professor Langdon and financed jointly by Mr. Weld-Blundell and the Field Museum of Chicago.

All the texts in the first volume (22 in number) are from the Weld-Blundell collection in the Ashmolean Museum with the exception of two, one of which is from the Stevenson collection and the other is in the hands of a dealer in antiquities. The texts are of a miscellaneous character, religious and historical, and date all the way from the early Sumerian period to the late Babylonian. The majority of them are early. In the case of six the cuneiform text only is published, but all the others are completely edited, either here or elsewhere. There is nothing startlingly new in the texts, but they are all of them valuable for our understanding of the religion and history of Babylonia. Their publication could not have been put into more competent hands. At the same time one cannot but wish that Langdon would take the time and patience to do his work more carefully and consistently. There is probably no better Assyriologist today, but he continually leaves himself open to attack by his hasty writing and the reader is severely tried by the inconsistency of his renderings and the awkwardness of his expressions, which are sometimes no more intelligible than the original. At the same time we must be grateful for the untiring labors of a great scholar, who, if not always reliable, is at any rate suggestive and has put at our disposal a vast array of material.

On one point in the present volume, to mention no others, the reviewer would venture to take issue with the author. On page 50, note 1, he rejects the well authenticated reading *Lugal-marda* for *Lugal-TUR-da* on the ground that it is probably a late Semitic interpretation and that Schroeder, *KAV*, 46, 15 read probably [*lu-gal-ba-a*]*n-da* and yet on the basis of this same text, line 9, he reads *Il-ba-ba* (clearly a late Semitic interpretation) in place of the earlier *Za-má-má* (var., *gá*), line 6. Not only is he inconsistent here, but his reading of line 15 is very questionable. The third column of this line says that the sign in question is the *du*-sign and the same column in line 17 says that it is the *maru*-sign.

These are manifestly variant names of the same sign and do not suggest different values.

In the second volume Langdon publishes four texts that are of very great historical importance. One is supremely valuable. It is a large rectangular clay prism, inscribed with two columns on each side, and is in almost perfect condition. The tablet purports to give a complete list of all the dynasties and kings who ruled in Babylonia before and after the flood down to Sin-magir, the second to the last king of the Isin dynasty. A smaller tablet gives a list of the kings before the flood. These tablets, together with those already published by Poebel and Legrain, now give us the complete chronological scheme of the early Babylonians for both the ante-diluvian and post-diluvian periods down to the end of the Isin dynasty. It only remains to harmonize the various lists and to determine how much overlapping of dynasties there was. This Langdon attempts to do and although in the nature of the case his work is much of it tentative, it is probably as nearly correct as we can at present determine. For his reckoning of dates he takes as his starting-point the date early established by Kugler for the beginning of the First Babylonian Dynasty, viz. 2225 B. C. In a brief introduction he discusses the much later date more recently advanced by Kugler and with good reason, we believe, rejects it. In this he has the support of the careful calculations of the Oxford astronomer, Fotheringham, who asserts that Kugler's late date is astronomically impossible. Fotheringham, however, would reduce Kugler's earlier date by 56 years on the basis of more accurate and scientific calculations.

A third text in the volume is a historical inscription of Sim-idinnam. It is a hollow barrel-shaped cylinder, containing two columns of writing in Sumerian, 79 lines in all. It is one of the best of the few inscriptions of this king that are known to us. It was written to commemorate the excavation of the Tigris for the water-supply of Larsa (Langdon, Ellasar). The tablet is still in the hands of an antiquity dealer.

The remaining text is a fragment of a tablet that manifestly contained a portion of the annals of the reign of Hammurabi. It is much to be regretted that the tablet is so fragmentary because much more historical information for the various years is given than in the ordinary date formulae.

The only defect of the volume is that it was written too hurriedly, but for this the author in the present instance has some excuse. There are a considerable number of typographical errors; *capital* is always spelled *capitol*; *dIM* is translated Immer in one place and Ramman in another; *dBabbar* (also written elsewhere *dUtu*) appears as both Babbar and Shamash in the translation of the same text; and the renderings in a number of places could have been improved, e. g. the sentence "At Kish Kug-Bau a female wine seller established the foundation of Kish and became king" (p. 15) would appear better as "At Kish Kug-Bau, a barmaid, established the foundation of Kish and became queen" (or a truer translation of the genderless *lugal* would be *monarch*). These and similar shortcomings are, however, of a very minor character and detract little from the inherent value of the volume. There are other important historical inscriptions in the Weld-Blundell collection and we await with keen anticipation their publication.

THEOPHILE J. MEEK.

The University of Toronto.

MINOR NOTICES

My Nestorian Adventure. By FRITZ HOLM. New York: FLEMING H. REVELL, 1923. 250 pp.

A popular account of a trip from the coast to Sian-fu, for the purpose of obtaining a replica of the famous Nestorian tablet. From a scholarly and scientific point of view the book is negligible.

L. C. P.

Burma, from the earliest times to the present day. By Sir J. G. SCOTT, K. C. I. E., Burma Political Service (retired). New York: ALFRED A. KNOPF, 1924. xii + 372 pp.

A popular relation, undocumented, and with a scanty index, of the history of Burma. The major part treats of the times since relations with Europe began. Early history is necessarily based mainly on native sources, which may excuse, but does not obliterate, the fact that this part of the book is obscure. The usual psychology of the colonial official is much in evidence in all parts.

Lotuses of the Mahāyāna. Edited by KENNETH SAUNDERS. (Wis-

dom of the East Series). London: JOHN MURRAY, 1924. 63 pp.

A collection of Mahāyāna aphorisms drawn from many sources, mainly Indian, a few Japanese.

Al-mašra' 'allafahu al-ḡass Būlus Sabaṭ (The Crossroads), by Père PAUL SBATH. [Cairo?] 1924. 210 pp.

This well printed volume is a collection of lectures delivered by the reverend author in Egypt and Syria with the purpose of bringing Muslims and Christians to a common understanding. It is an apology for the Christian faith, beginning with the testimonies to the Christians in the Koran, proceeding to the arguments for the Christian faith, concluding with a *résumé* of the Gospel story of the Lord. Of general interest is the announcement made in the book of the coming publication in Paris of the titles of some 1500 MSS, Syriac and Arabic, collected by the author, and assembled in his own library in Aleppo. There will be accompanying notes on the MSS and essays at translation.

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

At a meeting of the Executive Committee held on October 11, 1924, it was voted that the following resolution be submitted to the Board of Directors by correspondence, with the recommendation that it be adopted:

"In consideration of the provision of a special room in the Sterling Memorial Library sufficient for the housing of the Society's Library and for its future needs, and provided with appropriate facilities for study, the Directors hereby agree to leave the Society's Library on permanent deposit at Yale University."

This resolution has subsequently been approved by a majority of the Directors, and is therefore formally adopted.

At the same meeting the Executive Committee voted:

That \$100 be appropriated, in addition to the amount provided in the Budget, for binding Blake's *Grammar of the Tagalog Language*.

That, subject to the approval of the Board of Directors, the Yale University Press be allowed 25% commissions on publications sold thru it since February, 1924; and that the Librarian be recommended to arrange with the Yale University Press a reasonable compensation for its services in distributing the publications of the Society otherwise than by sale.

That \$200 be appropriated as compensation to Dr. Yerkes for his services in preparing the Index to Volumes 21-40 of the JOURNAL.

That Dr. Fischer be informed that the financial situation of the Society does not permit the grant of a subvention to his Arabic Dictionary at the present time.

That the next annual meeting (in New Haven) be held on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, of Easter Week, April 14, 15, and 16, 1925.

That Professor Albert T. Clay be elected as delegate of the Society to the American Council of Learned Societies for the term expiring in 1928.

The Executive Committee has also, by unanimous vote, elected the following to membership in the Society:

Dr. J. H. Ingram

Prof. M. J. Wyngaarden

The Committee on Publications announces that Volume 1 of the new American Oriental Series (*A Grammar of the Tagalog Language*, by Dr. Frank R. Blake) is nearly ready; and that Volumes 2 and 3 have been issued, under the following title: *The Panchatantra Reconstructed*. An attempt to establish the lost original Sanskrit text of the most famous of Indian story-collections. Text, Critical Apparatus, Introduction, Translation. By Franklin Edgerton, Assistant Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Pennsylvania. 2 vols. American Oriental Society, New Haven, 1924. Price, \$8.00, bound in cloth.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

The management of *Minerva* has founded a periodical, edited by Dr. G. Lüdtke, the editor of *Minerva*, and entitled *Minerva-Zeitschrift, Nachrichten für die gelehrte Welt*. The first issue has appeared under date of September 6, 1924. The publishers are Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin W. 10. This journal is to contain news of general interest to scholars, notes of learned societies all over the world, book reviews, etc. At present it is proposed to issue it every other month. The price per year (six issues) is Ten Marks; for subscribers to the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 8.50 Marks. Among the articles in the first issue are: Karl H. Meyer, *Die slavistischen Studien nach dem Kriege*; "W.", *Aus dem wissenschaftlichen Leben Leningrads (Peterburgs)*; F. D. O'Byrne, *Celtic Learning at its Fount*; S. N. Dasgupta, *India through some of her typical educational Institutions*; M. Winternitz, *Die internationale Universität Rabindranath Tagores in Santiniketan*.

PERSONALIA

Mr. JAL DASTUR C. PAVRY has been appointed Lecturer in Indo-Iranian Languages at Columbia University for 1924-5, and is conducting courses in the Religious History of Persia and in Indic and Persian Languages.

LIST OF MEMBERS

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

† designates members deceased during the past year.

HONORARY MEMBERS

- Prof. THEODOR NÖLDEKE, Ettlingerstr. 53, Karlsruhe, Germany. 1878.
Sir RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, K.C.I.E., Deccan College, Poona, India. 1887.
Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormserstr. 12,W.) 1887.
Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure 24.) 1893.
Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, University of Oxford, England. 1893.
Prof. RICHARD V. GARBE, University of Tübingen, Germany. (Waldhäuserstr. 14.) 1902.
Prof. ADOLF ERMAN, University of Berlin, Germany. (Peter Lennéstr. 36, Berlin-Dahlem.) 1903.
Prof. KARL F. GELDNER, University of Marburg, Germany. 1905.
Sir GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. Corporate Member, 1899; Honorary, 1905.
Prof. EDUARD MEYER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Mommsenstr. 7, Gross-Lichterfelde-West.) 1908.
EMILE SENART, Membre de l'Institut de France, 18 Rue François Ier, Paris, France. 1908.
Prof. HERMANN JACOBI, University of Bonn, Germany. (Niebuhrstrasse 59.) 1909.
Prof. C. SNOECK HURGRONJE, University of Leiden, Netherlands. (Rapenberg 61.) 1914.
Prof. SYLVAIN LÉVI, Collège de France, Paris, France. (9 Rue Guy-de-la-Brosse, Paris, Ve.) 1917.
Prof. ARTHUR ANTHONY MACDONELL, University of Oxford, England. 1918.
FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN, Membre de l'Institut de France, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France. 1918.
Sir ARTHUR EVANS, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England. 1919.
Prof. V. SCHELL, Membre de l'Institut de France, 4bis Rue du Cherche-Midi, Paris, France. 1920.
Dr. F. W. THOMAS, The Library, India Office, London S.W.1, England. 1920.
Rév. Père M.-J. LAGRANGE, Ecole archéologique française de Palestine, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1921.
DON LEONE CAETANI, DUCA DI SERMONETA, Villino Caetani, 13 Via Giacomo Medici, Rome, Italy. 1922.

- Prof. FRIEDRICH HIRTH, Haimhauserstr. 19, München, Germany. Corporate Member, 1903; Honorary, 1922.
- Prof. MORIZ WINTERNITZ, German University of Prague, Czechoslovakia. (Prague II, Opatovická 8.) 1923.
- Prof. HEINRICH ZIMMERN, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Ritterstr. 16/22.) 1923.
- Prof. PAUL PELLISOT, Collège de France, Paris, France. (38 Rue de Varenne, Paris, VIIe.) 1924. [Total: 25]

HONORARY ASSOCIATES

- Field Marshal Viscount ALLENBY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., Naval and Military Club, London, England. 1922.
- Hon. CHARLES R. CRANE, 655 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. OTIS A. GLAZEBROOK, American Consul, Nice, France. 1921.
- Pres. FRANK J. GOODNOW, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1921.
- Hon. CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C. 1922.
- President Emeritus HARRY PRATT JUDSON, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1922.
- Hon. HENRY MORGENTHAU, 417 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Hon. OSCAR S. STRAUS, 5 West 76th St., New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Hon. SAO-KE ALFRED SZE, Chinese Minister to the United States, Chinese Legation, Washington, D. C. 1922.
- Hon. WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, Chief Justice, The Supreme Court of the United States, Washington, D. C. 1921.
- Major General LEONARD WOOD, Governor-General of the Philippine Islands, Manila, P. I. 1922. [Total: 11]

CORPORATE MEMBERS

Names marked with * are those of life members.

- MARCUS AARON, 402 Winebiddle Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1900.
- Pres. CYRUS ADLER (Dropsie College), 2041 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
- Dr. N. ADRIANI, Posso, Central Celebes, Dutch East Indies. 1922.
- Prof. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR (Univ. of Madras), Sri Venkatesa Vilas, Nadu St., Mylapore, Madras, India. 1921.
- Dr. WILLIAM FOXWELL ALBRIGHT, Director, American School of Oriental Research, P. O. Box 333, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1915.
- Prof. HERBERT C. ALLEMAN, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa. 1921.
- Prof. T. GEORGE ALLEN (Univ. of Chicago), 5743 Maryland Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Dr. OSWALD T. ALLIS, 26 Alexander Hall, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1916.

- Prof. SHIGERU ARAKI, The Peeress' School, Aoyama, Tokyo, Japan. 1915.
Prof. J. C. ARCHER (Yale Univ.), Box 1848, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1916.
Prof. KAN-ICHI ASAKAWA, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn. 1904.
L. A. AULT, P. O. Drawer 880, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
Dean WILLIAM FREDERIC BADÈ (Pacific School of Religion), 2616 College Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1920.
Rev. MOSES BAILEY, A.M., 6 Norfolk Terrace, Wellesley, Mass. 1922.
Mrs. ROBERT A. BAILEY, JR., Harlicourt Apts., Cliff Road, Birmingham, Ala. 1922.
CHARLES CHANEY BAKER, care of Dominguez Land Corporation, Torrance, Cal. 1916.
Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
*Dr. HUBERT BANNING, 17 East 128th St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
*PHILIP LEMONT BARBOUR, care of Mercantile Trust Co., San Francisco, Cal. 1917.
Rabbi HENRY BARNSTON, Ph.D., 3515 Main St., Houston, Texas. 1921.
Prof. LEROY CARR BARRET, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1903.
Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 3725 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
Mrs. FRANCES CROSBY BARTTER, Box 655, Manila, P. I. 1921.
Mrs. DANIEL M. BATES, 51 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1912.
Prof. LORING W. BATTEN (General Theol. Seminary), 6 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. HARLAN P. BEACH (Yale Univ.), 229 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
Miss ETHEL BEES, 3414 South Paulina St., Chicago, Ill. 1915.
Rev. WILLIAM Y. BELL, Ph.D., 218 West 130th St., New York, N. Y. 1923.
*Prof. SHRIPAD K. BELVALKAR (Deccan College), Bilvakunja, Bhamburda, Poona, India. 1914.
Prof. HAROLD H. BENDER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1906.
Pres. GUY POTTER BENTON, University of the Philippines, Manila, P. I. 1922.
Prof. C. THEODORE BENZE, D.D. (Mt. Airy Theol. Seminary), 7304 Boyer St., Mt. Airy, Pa. 1916.
OSCAR BERMAN, Third, Plum and McFarland Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
PIERRE A. BERNARD, Rossiter House, Braeburn Club, Nyack, N. Y. 1914.
ISAAC W. BERNHEIM, Inter-Southern Building, Louisville, Ky. 1920.
Prof. GEORGE R. BERRY, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1907.
Prof. JULIUS A. BEWER, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1907.
Prof. D. R. BHANDARKAR (Univ. of Calcutta), 35 Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta, India. 1921.
Prof. A. E. BIGELOW, Central Philippine School, Iloilo, P. I. 1922.
WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, M.D., 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.

- CARL W. BISHOP, American Legation, Peking, China. 1917.
- Dr. FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 600 Park Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1900.
- Dr. FREDERICK J. BLISS, care of The World, New York, N. Y. 1898.
- Rev. Dr. JOSHUA BLOCH, 346 East 173d St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. CARL AUGUST BLOMGREN (Augustana College and Theol. Seminary), 825 35th St., Rock Island, Ill. 1900.
- Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.
- Rev. PAUL F. BLOOMHARDT, Ph.D., Newberry College, Newberry, S. C. 1916.
- EMANUEL BOASBERG, 1296 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. 1921.
- Rev. AUGUST M. BOLDUC, S.T.L., The Marist College, Brookland, Washington, D. C. 1921.
- Prof. GEORGE M. BOLLING (Ohio State Univ.), 777 Franklin Ave., Columbus, Ohio. 1896.
- Prof. CAMPBELL BONNER, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1920.
- Dean EDWARD I. BOSWORTH (Oberlin Graduate School of Theology), 78 South Professor St., Oberlin, Ohio. 1920.
- Rev. JOHN WICK BOWMAN, M.A., American Presbyterian Mission, Saharanpur, U. P., India. 1923.
- Dr. RENWARD BRANDSTETTER, Vonmattstrasse 52, Lucerne, Switzerland. 1923 (1908).
- AARON BRAV, M.D., 917 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1924.
- Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
- Miss EMILIE GRACE BRIGGS, 521 Madison Ave., Lakewood, N. J. 1920.
- Rev. GEORGE WESTON BRIGGS, M.Sc., 823 Morton Road, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1923.
- Prof. C. A. BRODIE BROCKWELL, McGill University, Montreal, P.Q., Canada. 1920 (1906).
- Rev. CHARLES D. BROKENSHIRE, Lock Box 56, Alma, Mich. 1917.
- Mrs. BEATRICE ALLARD BROOKS, Ph.D. (Wellesley College), 9 State St., Wellesley, Mass. 1919.
- MILTON BROOKS, 3 Clive Row, Calcutta, India. 1918.
- DAVID A. BROWN, 60 Boston Boulevard, Detroit, Mich. 1921.
- G. M. L. BROWN, care of "Orientalia," 32 West 58th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Dean GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN, College of Missions, Indianapolis, Ind. 1909.
- LEO M. BROWN, P. O. Box 953, Mobile, Ala. 1920.
- Prof. W. NORMAN BROWN, 2115 St. Paul St., Baltimore, Md. 1916.
- Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- Dr. LUDLOW S. BULL, Assistant Curator, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1917.
- ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, State Mutual Building, Worcester, Mass. 1910.
- CHARLES DANA BURRAGE, 85 Ames Building, Boston, Mass. 1909.
- Prof. ROMANUS BUTIN, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.

- Prof. MOSES BUTTENWIESE (Hebrew Union College), 252 Loraine Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1917.
- Prof. EUGENE H. BYRNE (Univ. of Wisconsin), 240 Lake Lawn Place, Madison, Wis. 1917.
- Prof. HENRY J. CADBURY (Harvard Theol. Seminary), 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge, Mass. 1914.
- ALFRED M. CAMPBELL, 6146 Torresdale Ave., Wissiminsing, Philadelphia, Pa. 1922.
- Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Ph.D., 260 West 231st St., New York, N. Y. 1896.
- Rev. ISAAC CANNADAY, M.A., Ranchi, Bihar, India. 1920.
- Prof. ALBERT J. CARNOY (Univ. of Louvain), Sparrenhof, Corbeek-Loo, Belgium. 1916.
- Prof. JOHN F. B. CARRUTHERS, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1923.
- Prof. THOMAS F. CARTER, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1923.
- Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.
- HENRY HARMON CHAMBERLIN, 22 May St., Worcester, Mass. 1921.
- Rev. JOHN S. CHANDLER, D.D., Kodaikanal, South India. 1899.
- Prof. RAMAPRASAD CHANDRA, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, India. 1921.
- Dr. WILLIAM J. CHAPMAN (Hartford Theol. Seminary), 155 Broad St., Hartford, Conn. 1922.
- Mrs. HAROLD CHARTIER, 67 Division St., Gloversville, N. Y. 1924.
- Dr. F. D. CHESTER, The Bristol, Boston, Mass. 1891.
- Prof. EDWARD CHIERA, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1915.
- EMERSON B. CHRISTIE (Department of State), 3220 McKinley St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1921.
- Prof. WALTER E. CLARK, Box 222, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
- Prof. ALBERT T. CLAY (Yale Univ.), 401 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1907.
- Miss LUCY CLEVELAND, P. O. Box 117, Times Square Station, New York, N. Y. 1923.
- *ALEXANDER SMITH COCHRAN, 527 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1908.
- ALFRED M. COHEN, 9 West 4th St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Dr. GEORGE H. COHEN, 120 Capitol Ave., Hartford, Conn. 1920.
- Rabbi HENRY COHEN, D.D., 1920 Broadway, Galveston, Texas. 1920.
- Rabbi SAMUEL S. COHON, care of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1917.
- Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 1027 North Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1887.
- Dr. C. EVERETT CONANT, 224 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 1905.
- Dr. MAUDE GAECKLER (Mrs. H. M.) COOK, Belton, Texas. 1915.
- Rev. Dr. GEORGE S. COOKE, Houlton, Maine. 1917.
- Dr. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1917.
- *Prof. DOUGLAS HILARY CORLEY (Vanderbilt Univ.), 2100 Charlotte Ave., Nashville, Tenn. 1922.

- Rev. RALPH D. CORNUELLE, 547 West 123d St., New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Dr. WILLIAM COWEN, 35 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Rev. WILLIAM MERRIAM CRANE, Ph.D., Richmond, Mass. 1902.
- CECIL M. P. CROSS, Lourenço Marques, East Africa. 1921.
- Prof. THOMAS F. CUMMINGS, The Biblical Seminary in New York, 541 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1923.
- Prof. GEORGE H. DANTON, Tsing Hua College, Peking, China. 1921.
- Prof. ISRAEL DAVIDSON (Jewish Theol. Seminary), 92 Morningside Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- Prof. FRANK LEIGHTON DAY, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. 1920.
- Dean IRWIN HOCH DELONG (Theol. Seminary of the Reformed Church), 523 West James St., Lancaster, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. ROBERT E. DENGLE (Pennsylvania State College), 706 West College Ave., State College, Pa. 1920.
- NARIMAN M. DHALLA, Hartley Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Pro-Vice-Chancellor A. B. DHEUVA, The Benares Hindu University, Benares, India. 1921.
- Mrs. FRANCIS W. DICKINS, 2015 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C. 1911.
- LEON DOMINIAN, care of American Consulate-General, Rome, Italy. 1916.
- Rev. A. T. DORF, 1635 North Washtenaw Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1916.
- Prof. RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. 1918.
- Prof. FREDERIC C. DUNCALF, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1919.
- Prof. GEORGE S. DUNCAN (American Univ., Y. M. C. A. School of Religion), 2900 Seventh St., N. E., Washington, D. C. 1917.
- Rev. EDWARD SLATER DUNLAP, 2629 Garfield St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1921.
- Prof. CHARLES DUROISSELLE, M.A. (Rangoon Univ.), "C" Road, Mandalay, Burma. 1922.
- Prof. FRANKLIN EDGERTON (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 107 Bryn Mawr Ave., Lansdowne, Pa. 1910.
- Prof. WILLIAM F. EDGERTON, University of Louisville, Louisville, Ky. 1917.
- Dean GRANVILLE D. EDWARDS (Missouri Bible College), 811 College Ave., Columbia, Mo. 1917.
- Rev. JAMES F. EDWARDS, Gordon Hall House, New Nopgada Road, Bombay, India. 1921.
- Dr. ISRAEL EFROS (Baltimore Hebrew College), 3516 Holmes Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1918.
- Pres. FREDERICK C. EISELEN, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1901.
- Rabbi ISRAEL ELFENBEIN, D.H.L., 1018 East 163d St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- ABRAHAM I. ELKUS, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- ALBERT W. ELLIS, 40 Central St., Boston, Mass. 1917.

- Rev. Dr. BARNETT A. ELZAS, 42 West 72d St., New York, N. Y. 1923.
- Prof. AARON EMBER, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1902.
- Rabbi H. G. ENELow, D.D., Temple Emanu-El, 521 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. HENRY LANE ENO, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1916.
- Rabbi HARRY W. ETTelson, Ph.D., 1505 Diamond St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1918.
- Pres. MILTON G. EVANS, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. 1921.
- Prof. CHARLES P. FAGNANI (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 West 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1901.
- BENJAMIN FAIN, 1269 President St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1921.
- WALLACE CRANSTON FAIRWEATHER, 62 Saint Vincent St., Glasgow, Scotland. 1922.
- Dr. SAMUEL FEIGIN, 100 North Fairmount St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1924.
- Rabbi ABRAHAM J. FELDMAN, Temple Keneseth Israel, Broad St. above Columbia Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
- Rev. Dr. JOHN F. FENLON, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
- Dr. JOHN C. FERGUSON, Peking, China. 1900.
- Rabbi MORRIS M. FEUERLICHT, 3034 Washington Boulevard, Indianapolis, Ind. 1922.
- SOL BARUCH FINESINGER, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1922.
- Rabbi JOSEPH L. FINK, 540 South 6th St., Terre Haute, Ind. 1920.
- Dr. LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, Jewish Theological Seminary, 531 West 123d St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- CLARENCE S. FISHER, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1914 (1905).
- *MAYNARD DAUCHY FOLLIN, P. O. Box 118, Detroit, Mich. 1922.
- Dean HUGHELL E. W. FOSBROKE, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1917.
- Rabbi SOLOMON FOSTER, 90 Treacy Ave., Newark, N. J. 1921.
- Rabbi GRESHAM GEORGE FOX, Ph.D., 7423 Kingston St., Chicago, Ill. 1924.
- Prof. JAMES EVERETT FRAME, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
- W. B. FRANKENSTEIN, 110 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. 1921.
- Rabbi LEO M. FRANKLIN, M.A., 26 Edison Ave., Detroit, Mich. 1920.
- Rabbi SOLOMON B. FREEHOF, D.D., Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1918.
- MAURICE J. FREIBERG, 701 First National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- SIGMUND FREY, Feldgasse 10, Vienna (VIII), Austria. 1920.
- HARRY FRIEDENWALD, M.D., 1029 Madison Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1921.
- Prof. LESLIE ELMER FULLER, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1916.
- Prof. KEMPER FULLERTON, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin, Ohio. 1916.

- *Prof. A. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR, Elphinstone College, Bombay, India. 1921.
- ALEXANDER B. GALT, 2219 California St., Washington, D. C. 1917.
- Mrs. H. P. GAMBOE, Kulpahar, U. P., India. 1921.
- Prof. FRANK GAVIN, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1917.
- Dr. HENRY SNYDER GEHMAN, 5720 North 6th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- EUGENE A. GELLIOT, 290 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1911.
- Rev. PHARES B. GIBBLE, 112 West Conway St., Baltimore, Md. 1921.
- Prof. D. C. GILMORE, D.D., Judson College, Rangoon, Burma. 1922.
- Rabbi S. H. GOLDENSON, Ph.D., 4905 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
- Rabbi SOLOMON GOLDMAN, 55th and Scoville Sts., Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.
- Prof. ALEXANDER R. GORDON, Presbyterian College, Montreal, P. Q., Canada. 1912.
- Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1886.
- KINGDON GOULD, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Prof. HERBERT HENRY GOWEN, D.D. (Univ. of Washington), 5005 22d Ave., N. E., Seattle, Wash. 1920.
- Prof. WILLIAM CREIGHTON GRAHAM (Wesleyan Theol. College), 756 University St., Montreal, P. Q., Canada. 1921.
- Prof. ELIHU GRANT, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1907.
- Prof. LOUIS H. GRAY, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1897.
- Mrs. LOUIS H. GRAY, care of University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1907.
- Prof. EVARTS B. GREENE, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Dr. LILY DEXTER GREENE, care Methodist Episcopal Mission, Delhi, India. 1921.
- M. E. GREENEBAUM, 4504 Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1920.
- Dr. ETTALENE M. GRICE, care of Babylonian Collection, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1915.
- Miss LUCIA C. G. GRIEVE, 211 Wardwell Ave., Westerleigh, Staten Island, N. Y. 1894.
- Rev. Dr. HERVEY D. GRISWOLD, "The Abbey," Lahore, Panjab, India. 1920.
- Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN, 1532 East 2d St., Long Beach, Cal. 1890.
- Prof. LÉON GREY (Université libre d'Angers), 10 Rue La Fontaine, Angers, M-et-L., France. 1921.
- Babu SHIVA PRASAD GUPTA, Seva Upavana, Hindu University, Benares, India. 1921.
- Pres. WILLIAM W. GUTH, Ph.D., Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. 1920.
- *Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, 323 West 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
- Miss LUISE HAESSLER, 100 Morningside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1909.
- Dr. GEORGE ELLERY HALE, Director, Mt. Wilson Observatory, Pasadena, Cal. 1920.
- Rev. EDWARD R. HAMME, Reisterstown, Md. 1921.
- Prof. MAX S. HANDMAN, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1919.
- Dr. E. S. CRAIGHILL HANDY, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii. 1924.

- *EDWARD ROCHIE HARDY, JR., A.M., 419 West 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1924.
- JOEL HATHEWAY, 15 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1923.
- Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 215 Longwood Road, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md. 1883.
- Prof. A. EUSTACE HAYDON, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1922.
- Rabbi JAMES G. HELLER, 3634 Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Prof. MAXIMILIAN HELLER (Tulane Univ.), 1658 Joseph St., New Orleans, La. 1920.
- PHILIP S. HENRY, Zealandia, Asheville, N. C. 1914.
- EDWIN B. HEWES, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Prof. RALPH K. HICKOK, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y. 1924.
- Prof. WILLIAM BANCROFT HILL, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. HERMAN V. HILPRECHT, 1830 South Rittenhouse Square, Philadelphia, Pa. 1887.
- Prof. WILLIAM J. HINKE (Auburn Theol. Seminary), 156 North St., Auburn, N. Y. 1907.
- BERNARD HIRSHBERG, 260 Tod Lane, Youngstown, Ohio. 1920.
- Prof. PHILIP K. HITTI, American University, Beirut, Syria. 1915.
- Rev. Dr. CHARLES T. HOCK (Bloomfield Theol. Seminary), 222 Liberty St., Bloomfield, N. J. 1921 (1903).
- Prof. LEWIS HODOUS (Hartford Seminary Foundation), 9 Sumner St., Hartford, Conn. 1919.
- G. F. HOFF, 403 Union Building, San Diego, Cal. 1920.
- Miss ALICE M. HOLMES, Southern Pines, N. C. 1920.
- *Prof. E. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
- †SAMUEL HORCHOW, 1307 Fourth St., Portsmouth, Ohio. 1920.
- Prof. JACOB HOSCHANDER (Jewish Theol. Seminary), 218 West 112th St., New York, N. Y. 1914.
- HENRY R. HOWLAND, Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, Buffalo, N. Y. 1907.
- Pres. EDWARD H. HUME, Yale-in-China, Changsha, Hunan, China. 1909.
- Prof. ROBERT ERNEST HUME (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 West 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1914.
- *Dr. ARCHER M. HUNTINGTON, 15 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
- Prof. ISAAC HUSIK, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. MARY INDA HUSSEY, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1901.
- Rev. Dr. MOSES HYAMSON (Jewish Theol. Seminary), 1335 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- *JAMES HAZEN HYDE, 12 Rue Adolph Yvon, Paris, France. 1909.
- Prof. WALTER WOODBURN HYDE, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
- Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 Twelfth St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.
- HARALD INGHOLT, American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1921.

- Rabbi EDWARD L. ISRAEL, 1404 Upper First St., Evansville, Ind. 1920.
- Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.
- Mrs. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, care of Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1912.
- Prof. FREDERICK J. FOAKES JACKSON, D.D. (Union Theol. Seminary), Dana Place, Englewood, N. J. 1920.
- Rev. ERNEST P. JANVIER, Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, India. 1919.
- Mrs. MORRIS JASTROW, JR., 248 South 23d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1922.
- Prof. ARTHUR JEFFREY, American University, Cairo, Egypt. 1923.
- Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- FRANK EDWARD JOHNSON, 31 General Lee St., Marianao, Cuba. 1916.
- FRANKLIN PLOTINOS JOHNSON, Osceola, Mo. 1921.
- *Dr. HELEN M. JOHNSON, Osceola, Mo. 1921.
- NELSON TRUSLER JOHNSON, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 1921.
- CHARLES JOHNSTON, 80 Washington Square, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- REGINALD F. JOHNSTON, The Forbidden City, Peking, China. 1919.
- FLORIN HOWARD JONES, Saunders Cottage, N. Broadway, Upper Nyack, N. Y. 1918.
- Mrs. RUSSELL K. (Alice Judson) JONES, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Rabbi LEO JUNG, Ph.D., 131 West 86th St., New York, N. Y. 1924.
- ELY JACQUES KAHN, 49 West 45th St., New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Dean MAXIMO M. KALAW, University of the Philippines, Manila, P. I. 1922.
- ANDREW D. KALMYKOW, City Hospital, Welfare Island, New York, N. Y. 1924.
- Rabbi JACOB H. KAPLAN, 780 East Ridgeway Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1918.
- Rabbi C. E. HILLEL KAUVAR, Ph.D., 1607 Gilpin St., Denver, Colo. 1921.
- Prof. ELMER LOUIS KAYSER (George Washington Univ.), 2015 G St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. C. E. KEISER, Lyon Station, Pa. 1913.
- Prof. MAXIMILIAN L. KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.
- Prof. FREDERICK T. KELLY (Univ. of Wisconsin), 2019 Monroe St., Madison, Wis. 1917.
- Pres. JAMES A. KELSO, Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1915.
- Rev. JAMES L. KELSO, Xenia Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Mo. 1921.
- Rev. JOHN M. KELSO, 406 North Bradford St., Dover, Del. 1923.
- Prof. ELIZA H. KENDRICK, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1896.
- Prof. CHARLES FOSTER KENT, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1890.
- Prof. ROLAND G. KENT, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.
- LEEDS C. KERR, Royal Oak, Md. 1916.

- Dr. ISADORE KEYFITZ, 717 Kimball Bldg., Chicago, Ill. 1920.
- Prof. ANIS E. KHURI, American University, Beirut, Syria. 1921.
- Prof. TAIKEN KIMURA, Tokyo Imperial University, Tokyo, Japan. 1921.
- Mrs. HAROLD D. KINDT, Quakertown, Pa. 1924.
- Prof. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE (Harvard Univ.), 8 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
- EUGENE KLEIN, 44 North 50th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
- TAW SEIN KO, C.I.E., Peking Lodge, West Moat Road, Mandalay, Burma. 1922.
- Rabbi SAMUEL KOCH, M.A., 916 Twentieth Ave., Seattle, Wash. 1921.
- Dr. KAUFMANN KOHLER, 2 West 88th St., New York, N. Y. 1917.
- Dr. GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT, 220 West 87th St., New York, N. Y. 1924 (1894).
- Rev. EMIL G. H. KRAELING, Ph.D. (Union Theol. Seminary), 132 Henry St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.
- Rabbi NATHAN KRASS, D.D., Temple Emanu-El, 521 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1924.
- Pres. MELVIN G. KYLE, Xenia Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Mo. 1909.
- Miss M. ANTONIA LAMB, 212 South 46th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
- Prof. GOTTHARD LANDSTROM, Zap, Mercer Co., N. Dak. 1917.
- LEONARD D. LANGLEY, St. George's Society, 19 Moore St., New York, N. Y. 1924.
- *Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
- AMBROSE LANSING, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. KENNETH S. LATOURETTE, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1917.
- Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1900.
- Prof. JACOB Z. LAUTERRACH, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1918.
- SIMON LAZARUS, High and Town Sts., Columbus, Ohio. 1921.
- JOHN W. LEA, 1520 North Robinson St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1924.
- Prof. DARWIN A. LEAVITT (Meadville Theol. School), Divinity Hall, Meadville, Pa. 1920.
- Rabbi DAVID LEFKOWITZ, 2415 South Boulevard, Dallas, Texas. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. LÉON LEGRAIN, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
- Rabbi GERSON B. LEVI, Ph.D., 919 Hyde Park Building, Hyde Park Station, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Rabbi SAMUEL J. LEVINSON, 522 East 8th St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.
- ABRAHAM J. LEVY, Box 780, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1924.
- Rev. Dr. FELIX A. LEVY, 707 Melrose St., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Prof. REUBEN LEVY, Jewish Institute of Religion, 40 West 68th St., New York, N. Y. 1924.
- Prof. ISADORE LHEVINNE, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa. 1923.

- LEON J. LIEBREICH, 141 West 111th St., New York, N. Y. 1923.
- Dr. H. S. LINFIELD, Bureau of Jewish Social Research, 114 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1912.
- JOHN ELLERTON LODGE, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1922.
- Mrs. LEE LOEB, 53 Gibbes St., Charleston, S. C. 1920.
- Rev. ARNOLD E. LOOK, Upland, Pa. 1920.
- Dr. STEPHEN B. LUCE, JR., 267 Clarendon St., Boston, Mass. 1916.
- Prof. DANIEL D. LUCKENBILL, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- Prof. HENRY F. LUTZ (University of California), 1811 Parker St., Berkeley, Cal. 1916.
- Prof. ALBERT HOWE LYBYER (Univ. of Illinois), 1006 West Nevada St., Urbana, Ill. 1917 (1909).
- Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON, Harvard University Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
- ALBERT MORTON LYTGOE, Curator, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1899.
- Rev. WILLIAM H. MCCLELLAN, S.J., Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md. 1922.
- Prof. CHESTER CHARLTON McCOWN, D.D. (Pacific School of Religion), 2223 Atherton St., Berkeley, Cal. 1920.
- Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
- DAVID ISRAEL MACHT, M.D., The Johns Hopkins University Medical School, Monument and Washington Sts., Baltimore, Md. 1918.
- RALPH W. MACK, 3836 Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- J. ARTHUR MACLEAN, Director, The John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis, Ind. 1922.
- Dr. ROBERT CECIL MACMAHON, 78 West 55th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Dr. JUDAH L. MAGNES, 114 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, 89 Hillcrest Road, Belmont, Mass. 1887.
- Prof. WALTER ARTHUR MAIER, 3709 Texas Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1917.
- Prof. HENRY MALTER (Dropsie College), 1531 Diamond St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
- Prof. JACOB MANN, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
- Rabbi LOUIS L. MANN, Ph.D., 4600 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Prof. CLARENCE A. MANNING (Columbia Univ.), 144 East 74th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- *Rev. JAMES CAMPBELL MANEY, Ewing College, Allahabad City, U. P., India. 1921.
- Rabbi JACOB R. MARCUS, bei Eschelbacher, Oranienburgerstr. 68, Berlin, Germany. 1920.
- Rabbi JOSEPH MARCUS, 301 Landis Ave., Vineland, N. J. 1924.
- RALPH MARCUS, 531 West 124th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- ARTHUR WILLIAM MARGET, 157 Homestead St., Roxbury, Mass. 1920.
- Rabbi ELIAS MARGOLIS, Ph.D., 16 Glen Ave., Mount Vernon, N. Y. 1924.
- Rabbi HARRY S. MARGOLIS, Paducah, Ky. 1920.

- Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS (Dropsie College), 152 West Hortic St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
- †Prof. ALLAN MARQUAND, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- JAMES P. MARSH, M.D., 1828 Fifth Ave., Troy, N. Y. 1919.
- Pres. H. I. MARSHALL, Karen Theol. Seminary, Insein, Burma, India. 1920.
- JOHN MARTIN, North Adams, Mass. 1917.
- Prof. NICHOLAS MARTINOVITCH, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1924.
- MITFORD C. MASSIE, 220 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1924.
- Prof. ISAAC G. MATTHEWS, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. 1921 (1906).
- Prof. JOSEPH BROWN MATTHEWS, Scarritt College for Christian Workers, Nashville, Tenn. 1924.
- Rabbi HARRY H. MAYER, 3512 Kenwood Ave., Kansas City, Mo. 1921.
- Prof. JOHN A. MAYNARD, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1917.
- Prof. THEOPHILE J. MEEK, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1917.
- Rabbi RAPHAEL H. MELAMED, Ph.D., 122 East 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Dean SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Trinity College, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1912.
- R. D. MESSAYEH, Stanton St., Dunwoodie Heights, Yonkers, N. Y. 1919.
- Mrs. EUGENE MEYER, Seven Springs Farm, Mt. Kisco, N. Y. 1916.
- Rabbi MYRON M. MEYEROVITZ, Alexandria, La. 1920.
- Dr. TRUMAN MICHELSON, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C. 1899.
- MERTON L. MILLER, 1812 South Bronson Ave., Los Angeles, Cal. 1921.
- Rev. PHILO LAOS MILLS, D.D., 2315 Lincoln Road, N. E., Washington, D. C. 1923.
- Rabbi LOUIS A. MISCHKIND, M.A., 319 North Sheridan Road, Highland Park, Ill. 1920.
- Rev. JOHN MONCURE, Maryland College for Women, Lutherville, Md. 1921.
- Dr. ROBERT LUDWIG MOND, 7 Cavendish Mansions, Langham St., London W. 1, England. 1921.
- Prof. J. A. MONTGOMERY (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
- †*Mrs. MARY H. MOORE, 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1902.
- Rev. HUGH A. MORAN, 221 Eddy St., Ithaca, N. Y. 1920.
- Pres. JULIAN MORGENSTERN (Hebrew Union College), 8 Burton Woods Lane, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1915.
- *EFFINGHAM B. MORRIS, "Tyn-y-Coed," Ardmore, Pa. 1920.
- Hon. ROLAND S. MORRIS, 1617 Land Title Building, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
- Prof. EDWARD S. MORSE, Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass. 1894.
- Rev. OMER HILLMAN MOTT, O.S.B., Belmont Abbey, Belmont, N. C. 1921.
- DHAN GOPAL MUKERJI, 5 West 82d St., New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Dr. WILLIAM MUSS-ARNOLT, 245 East Tremont Ave., New York, N. Y. 1887.

- Prof. THOMAS KINLOCH NELSON, Virginia Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Va. 1920.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM M. NESBIT, 980 North Ave., New Rochelle, N. Y. 1916.
- Rev. RALPH B. NESBITT, American Presbyterian Mission, Hoshiarpur, Panjab, India. 1924.
- Professor WILLIAM ROMAINE NEWBOLD, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1918.
- EDWARD THEODORE NEWELL, American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Ven. Archdeacon WILLIAM E. NIES, care of Union Bank, Geneva, Switzerland. 1908.
- Dr. WILLIAM FREDERICK NOTZ, 5402 39th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1915.
- Dr. ALOIS RICHARD NYKL, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1922.
- Dr. J. J. OBERMANN, Jewish Institute of Religion, 40 West 68th St., New York, N. Y. 1923.
- ADOLPH S. OCHS, The New York Times, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Rt. Rev. DENIS J. O'CONNELL, 800 Cathedral Place, Richmond, Va. 1903.
- Dr. FELIX, Freiherr von OEFELE, 326 East 58th St., New York, N. Y. 1913.
- HERBERT C. OETTINGER, Eighth and Walnut Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- NAOYOSHI OGAWA, Bureau of Education, Government of Formosa, Taihoku, Formosa. 1921.
- Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, 628 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.
- Dr. ELLEN S. OGDEN, Bishop Hopkins Hall, Burlington, Vt. 1898.
- Prof. SAMUEL G. OLIPHANT, Grove City College, Grove City, Pa. 1906.
- Prof. ALBERT TENEYCK OLMSTEAD (Univ. of Illinois), 706 South Goodwin St., Urbana, Ill. 1909.
- Prof. CHARLES A. OWEN, Assiut College, Assiut, Egypt. 1921.
- LUTHER PARKER, Cabanatuan, P. I. 1922.
- ANTONIO M. PATERNO, 605 East Daniel St., Champaign, Ill. 1922.
- Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
- ROBERT LEET PATTERSON, Shields, Allegheny Co., Pa. 1920.
- Pres. CHARLES T. PAUL, College of Missions, Indianapolis, Ind. 1921.
- JAL Dastur CURSETJI PAVRY, Furnald Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. GEORGE A. PECKHAM, Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio. 1912.
- HAROLD PEIRCE, 222 Drexel Building, Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
- Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. MARSHALL LIVINGSTON PERRIN, Boston University, 688 Boylston St., Boston, Mass. 1921.
- Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY (Columbia Univ.), 542 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
- Dr. ARNOLD PESKIND, 2414 East 55th St., Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.
- Prof. WALTER PETERSEN, University of Redlands, Redlands, Cal. 1909.
- Rev. THEODORE PETERSON, C.S.P., Ph.D., St. Paul's College, Washington, D. C. 1924.

- Dr. ROBERT HENRY PFEIFFER, S.T.M. (Harvard Univ.), 82 Larch Road, Cambridge, Mass. 1920.
- Rev. Dr. DAVID PHILIPSON, 3947 Beechwood Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1889.
- Hon. WILLIAM PHILLIPS, American Legation, Brussels, Belgium. 1917.
- Rev. Dr. Z. B. T. PHILLIPS, Church of the Epiphany, Washington, D. C. 1922.
- PAUL POPENOE, Box 13, Coachella, Cal. 1914.
- Prof. WILLIAM POPPER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1897.
- Prof. LUCIUS C. PORTER, Peking University, Peking, China. 1923.
- Prof. D. V. POTDAR (New Poona College), 180 Shanvar Peth, Poona, India. 1921.
- Mrs. FREDERICK W. PRATT, 2015 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C. 1924.
- Rev. Dr. SARTELL PRENTICE, 127 South Broadway, Nyack, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. IRA M. PRICE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
- Hon. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (Columbia Univ.), American Legation, Copenhagen, Denmark. 1888.
- CARL E. PRITZ, 101 Union Trust Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Rev. Dr. A. H. PRUESSNER, Gang Sakotah 10, Kramat, Weltevreden, Java, Dutch East Indies. 1921.
- Prof. ALEXANDER C. PUBDY, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1921.
- Prof. HERBERT R. PURINTON, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine. 1921.
- Prof. CHARLES LYNN PYATT, The College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky. 1921 (1917).
- Dr. G. PAXN QUACKENBOS, Northrup Ave., Tuckahoe, N. Y. 1904.
- Dr. V. V. RAMANA-SASTRIN, Vedaraniam, Tanjore District, India. 1921.
- Dean HORACE M. RAMSEY, 341 13th St., Portland, Ore. 1920 (1902).
- MARCUS RACH, 951 Penn Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
- Pres. JOHN H. RAVEN (New Brunswick Theol. Seminary), 9 Union St., New Brunswick, N. J. 1920.
- Prof. HARRY B. REED (Northwestern Lutheran Theol. Seminary), 1852 Polk St., N. E., Minneapolis, Minn. 1921.
- Dr. NATHANIEL REICH (Univ. of Pennsylvania Museum), 3238 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1923.
- Dr. JOSEPH REIDER, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
- JOHN REILLY, JR., American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1918.
- Prof. AUGUST KARL REISCHAUER, Meiji Gakuin, Shirokane Shiba, Tokyo, Japan. 1920.
- Prof. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER (Harvard Univ.), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1891.
- Dr. GEORGE L. RICHARDS, 124 Franklin St., Fall River, Mass. 1923.
- Prof. ROBERT THOMAS RIDDLE, St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook, Pa. 1920.
- HALSEY A. RINE, Veterans' Home, Palo Alto, Cal. 1923.
- Prof. EDWARD ROBERTSON, University College of North Wales, Bangor, Wales. 1921.

- Rev. Dr. CHARLES WELLINGTON ROBINSON, Christ Church, Bronxville, N. Y. 1916.
- Prof. DAVID M. ROBINSON, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1921.
- Prof. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Seminary), 2312 North Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- Rev. Dr. THEODORE H. ROBINSON, University College, Cardiff, Wales. 1922.
- GEORGE N. ROERICH, 270 Rue de Vaugirard, Paris XVe, France. 1922.
- Prof. JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard Univ.), 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
- WALTER A. ROSELLE, 749 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1924.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM ROSENAU, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
- *JULIUS ROSENWALD, Ravinia, Ill. 1920.
- LESSING J. ROSENWALD, care of Sears, Roebuck and Co., Philadelphia, Pa. 1924.
- SAMUEL ROTHENBERG, M.D., 22 West 7th St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
- Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 537 West 121st St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Dr. ELBERT RUSSELL, Woolman House, Swarthmore, Pa. 1916.
- Dr. NAJEEB M. SALEEBY, P. O. Box 226, Manila, P. I. 1922.
- Rev. FRANK K. SANDERS, Ph.D., 25 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.
- Prof. HENRY A. SANDERS (Univ. of Michigan), 521 Thompson St., Ann Arbor, Mich. 1924.
- Mrs. A. H. SAUNDERS, 552 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1915.
- Prof. KENNETH J. SAUNDERS (Pacific School of Religion), High Acres. Creston Road, Berkeley, Cal. 1924.
- Prof. HENRY SCHAEFFER (Lutheran Theol. Seminary), 1606 South 11th Ave., Maywood, Chicago, Ill. 1916.
- Dr. ISRAEL SCHAPIRO, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1914.
- Prof. OTTO SCHEERER (Univ. of the Philippines), P. O. Box 659, Manila, P. I. 1922.
- JOHN F. SCHLICHTING, 1430 Woodhaven Boulevard, Woodhaven, N. Y. 1920.
- Prof. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
- ADOLPH SCHOENFELD, 321 East 84th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- WILFRED H. SCHOFF, The Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1912.
- WILLIAM BACON SCOFIELD, Worcester Club, Worcester, Mass. 1919.
- Prof. GILBERT CAMPBELL SCOGGIN, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. 1906.
- ALEXANDER SCOTT, 222 Central Park South, New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Prof. JOHN A. SCOTT, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1920.
- *Mrs. SAMUEL BRYAN SCOTT (*née* Morris), 2106 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
- Prof. HELEN M. SEARLES, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1921.
- Dr. MOSES SEIDEL (Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theol. Seminary), 9-11 Montgomery St., New York, N. Y. 1917.

- †H. A. SEINSHKIMER, Fourth and Pike Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
Rev. Dr. WILLIAM G. SEIPLE, 125 Tsuchidoi, Sendai, Miyagi Ken, Japan.
1902.
- SAMUEL SELIGMAN, 2739 Augusta St., Chicago, Ill. 1922.
- Prof. OVID R. SELLERS (McCormick Theol. Seminary), 846 Chalmers Place,
Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- VICTOR N. SHARENKOFF (Columbia Univ.), 241 Princeton Ave., Jersey City,
N. J. 1922.
- G. HOWLAND SHAW, American Embassy, Constantinople, Turkey. 1921.
- *Dr. T. LESLIE SHEAR, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1923.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM G. SHELLABEAR, 43 Madison Ave., Madison, N. J. 1919.
- Prof. WILLIAM A. SHELTON, Emory University, Atlanta, Ga. 1921.
- Prof. CHARLES N. SHEPARD (General Theol. Seminary), 9 Chelsea Square,
New York, N. Y. 1907.
- ANDREW R. SHERIFF, The Chicago Club, 404 South Michigan Ave., Chicago,
Ill. 1921.
- CHARLES C. SHERMAN, 447 Webster Ave., New Rochelle, N. Y. 1904.
- Rev. JOHN KNIGHT SHRYOCK, Anking, China. 1922.
- DON CAMERON SHUMAKER, 347 Madison Ave., Room 1007, New York, N. Y.
1922.
- Rabbi ABBA HILLEL SILVER, The Temple, East 55th St. and Central Ave.,
Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.
- Rev. HIRAM HILL SIPES, Guntur, South India. 1920.
- Rabbi JACK H. SKIRBALL, 8206 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.
- Prof. S. B. SLACK, Arts Building, McGill University, Montreal, P. Q.,
Canada. 1921.
- *JOHN R. SLATTERY, 14 Rue Montaigne, Paris, France. 1903.
- MISS MARION W. SLEEZER, 360 West State St., Paxton, Ill. 1923.
- Rev. H. FRAMER SMITH, 324 West Duval St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1922.
- Prof. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway
and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1877.
- Prof. J. M. POWIS SMITH, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
- Prof. LOUISE P. SMITH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1918.
- Rev. JOSEPH EDWARD SNYDER, 203 Boulevard Ave., Grand Forks, N. Dak.
1916.
- Rev. Dr. ELIAS L. SOLOMON, 1326 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Dr. DAVID B. SPOONER, Assistant Director General of Archaeology in India,
"Benmore," Simla, Panjab, India. 1918 (1902).
- Prof. MARTIN SPRENGLING, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- JOHN FRANKLIN SPRINGER, 618 West 136th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- J. W. STANLEY, 11 City Road, Allahabad, India. 1922.
- Rev. Dr. JAMES D. STEELE, 232 Mountain Way, Rutherford, N. J. 1892.
- HERMAN STEINBERG, 103 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- MAX STEINBERG, care of Macdonell House, Sydney, Australia. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. THOMAS STENHOUSE, Mickley Vicarage, Stocksfield-on-Tyne, Eng-
land. 1921.

- HORACE STERN, 1524 North 16th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
 Rev. Dr. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, West Stockbridge, Mass. 1900.
 Rev. Dr. JOSEPH STOLZ, 4714 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 Prof. FREDERICK AMES STUFF (Univ. of Nebraska), Station A 1263, Lincoln, Neb. 1921.
 Prof. EDGAR HOWARD STURTEVANT (Yale Univ.), 1815 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1924.
 Dr. VISHNU S. SUKTHANKAR, Shantaram House, Malabar Hill, Bombay, India. 1921.
 A. J. SUNSTEIN, Farmers Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
 Prof. LEO SUPPAN (St. Louis College of Pharmacy), 2109a Russell Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1920.
 Pres. GEORGE SVERDRUP, JR., Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn. 1907.
 Prof. YUNG-TUNG TANG, Southeastern University, Nanking, China. 1922.
 Prof. FREDERICK J. TEGGART, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1919.
 NAINSINH L. THACKER, 409 Forty-ninth St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1923.
 EBEN FRANCIS THOMPSON, 311 Main St., Worcester, Mass. 1906.
 Rev. WILLIAM GORDON THOMPSON, 979 Ogden Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
 †Prof. HENRY A. TODD (Columbia Univ.), 824 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.
 Baron Dr. GYOYU TOKIWAJ (Imperial Univ. of Kyoto), Isshinden, Province of Ise, Japan. 1921.
 *Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1891.
 I. NEWTON TRAGER, 944 Marion Ave., Avondale, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
 Rev. ARCHIBALD TREMAYNE, 4138 Brooklyn Ave., Seattle, Wash. 1918.
 Pandit RAM PRASAD TRIPATHI, M.A., University of Allahabad, Allahabad, India. 1921.
 Prof. HAROLD H. TRYON, Union Theological Seminary, 3041 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1921.
 VLADIMIR A. TSANOFF, Hartley Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1924.
 Prof. RUDOLF TSCHUDI, Ph.D., Benkenstrasse 61, Basle, Switzerland. 1923.
 Rabbi JACOB TURNER, 4167 Ogden Ave., Hawthorne Station, Chicago, Ill. 1921.
 Rev. DUDLEY TYNG, 721 Douglas Ave., Providence, R. I. 1922.
 *Rev. Dr. LEMON LEANDER UHL, Riverbank Court, Cambridge, Mass. 1921.
 Rev. SYDNEY N. USSHER, 44 East 76th St., New York, N. Y. 1909.
 Rev. JOHN VAN ESS, Basra, Mesopotamia. 1921.
 Rev. M. VANOVERBERGH, Mission Society of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, 2 Convent Hill and 130th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
 Mrs. JOHN KING VAN RENSSELAER, 70 East 92d St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
 Prof. ARTHUR A. VASCHALDE, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
 Prof. J. PH. VOGEL (Univ. of Leiden), Noordeindsplein 4a, Leiden, Netherlands. 1921.

- LUDWIG VOGELSTEIN, 61 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1920.
Prof. JACOB WACKERNAGEL (Univ. of Basle), Gartenstr. 93, Basle, Switzerland. 1921.
- *FELIX M. WARBURG, 52 William St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
JAMES R. WARE, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. 1923.
Prof. WILLIAM F. WARREN (Boston Univ.), 131 Davis Ave., Brookline, Mass. 1877.
- Prof. LEROY WATERMAN, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1912.
†Rev. JAMES WATT, Marietta Ave., Lancaster, Pa. 1923.
JAMES B. WEAVER, 412 Iowa National Bank Building, Des Moines, Iowa. 1922.
- *Prof. HUTTON WEBSTER (Univ. of Nebraska), Station A, Lincoln, Neb. 1921.
- Mrs. L. A. (Eleanor Yeaworth) WELLIVER, 5193 Fifth Ave., Altoona, Pa. 1921.
- Rev. O. V. WERNER, Ranchi, Chhota Nagpur, India. 1921.
Prof. J. E. WERREN, 42 Chapel St., Abington, Mass. 1894.
ARTHUR J. WESTERMAYR, 14 John St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
- Rev. MILTON C. J. WESTPHAL, 33 Highland Ave., Lansdowne, Pa. 1920.
RICHARD B. WETHEILL, M.D., 525 Columbia St., Lafayette, Ind. 1921.
President Emeritus BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1885.
- JOHN G. WHITE, Williamson Building, Cleveland, Ohio. 1912.
Pres. WILBERT W. WHITE, D.D., The Biblical Seminary in New York, 541 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Miss ETHEL E. WHITNEY, Hotel Hemenway, Boston, Mass. 1921.
*Miss MARGARET DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1908.
- *Miss CAROLYN M. WICKER, Woman's Club, Fine Arts Building, Chicago, Ill. 1921.
- PETER WIERNIK, 220 Henry St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
HERMAN WILE, Ellicott and Carroll Sts., Buffalo, N. Y. 1920.
- Prof. HERBERT L. WILLETT (Univ. of Chicago), 6119 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Mrs. CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS, The Chesbrough Dwellings, Toledo, Ohio. 1912.
- Hon. E. T. WILLIAMS (Univ. of California), 1410 Scenic Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1901.
- Prof. FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 155 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.
- Mrs. FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS, 155 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1918.
- Prof. TALCOTT WILLIAMS, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1884.
JOHN A. WILSON, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1924.

- Major HERBERT E. WINLOCK, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1919.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM COPLEY WINSLOW, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.
- Rabbi JONAH B. WISE, 715 Chamber of Commerce, Portland, Ore. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. STEPHEN S. WISE, 23 West 90th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. JOHN E. WISHAET, San Francisco Theol. Seminary, San Anselmo, Cal. 1911.
- Rev. ADOLF LOUIS WISMAR, 419 West 145th St., New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Dr. UNRAI WOGIHARA, 20 Tajimacho, Asakusa, Tokyo, Japan. 1921.
- Prof. LOUIS B. WOLFENSON, 160 Canterbury St., Dorchester, Mass. 1904.
- Prof. HARRY A. WOLFSON (Harvard Univ.), 35 Divinity Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1917.
- HOWLAND WOOD, Curator, American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1919.
- Prof. IRVING F. WOOD (Smith College), Northampton, Mass. 1905.
- Prof. WILLIAM H. WOOD (Dartmouth College), 23 North Main St., Hanover, N. H. 1917.
- Prof. JAMES H. WOODS (Harvard Univ.), 16 Prescott Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
- Prof. ALFRED COOPER WOOLNER, M.A., University of the Panjab, 11 Racecourse Road, Lahore, India. 1921.
- Prof. JESSE ERWIN WRENCH (Univ. of Missouri), 1104 Hudson Ave., Columbia, Mo. 1917.
- Rev. HORACE K. WRIGHT, Vengurla, Bombay Presidency, India. 1921.
- JOHN MAX WULFING, 3448 Longfellow Boulevard, St. Louis, Mo. 1921.
- Prof. MARTIN J. WYNGAARDEN (Calvin College and Theol. Seminary), 1116 Bates St., S. E., Grand Rapids, Mich. 1924.
- Rev. Dr. ROYDEN KEITH YERKES (Philadelphia Divinity School), Box 247, Merion, Pa. 1916.
- Rev. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, Ph.D., Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. HARRY CLINTON YORK, Hood College, Frederick, Md. 1922.
- LOUIS GABRIEL ZELSON, 427 Titan St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
- Rev. ROBERT ZIMMERMAN, S.J., St. Xavier's College, Cruickshank Road, Bombay, India. 1911.
- Rev. Dr. SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, care of American Mission, Cairo, Egypt. 1920.

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INDEX TO VOLUMES 21-40 OF THE JOURNAL

Compiled by

ROYDEN KEITH YERKES

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

PREFACE

THE INDEX to the first twenty volumes of the *JAOS* edited by Dr. Moore and published some twenty years ago forms the general model upon which the present Index is made. There are certain changes which I have made largely in the interest of simplification.

The first part of the Index I have called General Index, including subjects and words, except Hebrew words which for obvious reasons are grouped by themselves. This list includes only those Hebrew words upon which there is real discussion.

The Index of passages from Oriental Literature includes as far as possible every passage to which reference of any kind is made, whether long or short. Naturally there are included many references which simply refer to the passages in question as well as other references which are by way of discussion. The inclusion of every reference has made it unnecessary for the editor to decide whether a particular reference should or should not be quoted.

The Index of texts, translations and illustrations needs a word of explanation. For the most part the texts and translations are the same; but there are texts which are not translated and translations for which texts are not given. Therefore it has been thought better, at the risk of duplication, to make separate lists of texts, of translations, and of illustrations.

The volume numbers are printed in heavy-faced type and the page numbers in light-faced type.

I wish to express my great appreciation to the editors of the *JOURNAL*, Dr. James Alan Montgomery and Dr. Franklin Edgerton, for their assistance in preparation of the copy, their uniform courtesy, and for their patience with the unavoidable delays which have deferred the completion of the Index.

R. K. Y.

Philadelphia, December 1, 1924.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. GENERAL INDEX	315
Hebrew and Phoenician Words	340
II. INDEX OF AUTHORS	341
III. TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS, AND ILLUSTRATIONS	359
IV. INDEX OF PASSAGES	363
Biblical and Jewish Literature	363
Indic Literature	371
Persian Literature	381
Greek Literature	383

I

GENERAL INDEX

A

- Abbas the Great, relations with Mo-
 gul emperors **35**: 247-268
 ablative case, origin of **38**: 47-59
 Abraham, prayer to **31**: 276
 Abram, Field of, *see* Field
 Abu Habba, temple archive at **27**:
 151
 Abyssinia, specimens of popular li-
 terature of **23**: 51-55
 Achaemenian kings, religion of **21**:
 160-184
 Adab, names of two kings of **33**:
 295-296
 Adad **22**: 27
 Adad (Ramman), Babylonian equi-
 valent of Indra **38**: 295
 Adad Nirari III, epitome of reign
 of **38**: 211-212
 Adamdun **33**: 31
 Adauah, location of, and Assyrian
 campaigns against **37**: 173-174
 addition in the Mahābhārata **23**:
 124-126
 ādeśa, debate upon meaning of **40**:
 84-102
adhi vbrū and *adhi vtae* **36**: 213-
 225
 ā-dīs in the Rig Veda **40**: 89-92
 Ādityas, moral deities of India **38**:
 295
 Adonis **21**: 189; **22**: 116
 A-ebur-sabu **22**: 28
 Aesculapius **21**: 189
 Afghan and Mohammedan calendars
 compared **28**: 332-333
 Africa, East, early Chinese notices
 of **30**: 46-57
 Agni
 and Indra **36**: 260
 metaphorical descriptions of **30**:
 176-178
 Agnihotra **33**: 217
 agricultural taboos of Land Dyaks
29: 247-249
 agriculture and cattle tending in the
 Avesta **39**: 329-333
 Ahlame, Assyrian campaigns against
37: 176-177
 Ahmad ibn Sa'id al-Ghumri, text
 of **27**: 266-268
 Ahura Mazda **21**: 160-184
 'Ain Duk, mosaic inscription at **40**:
 141-142
 Ainu
 bear ceremony **26**: 138-139
 numerals and phonology **37**: 192-
 208
 Airyaman, Iranian god of healing
38: 294-295
 Akbar, relations of Shah Abbas
 with **35**: 247-268
 Akkadian
 creation story: similarity of —
 to P document of Genesis **36**:
 295-296
 version of beginnings **36**: 280-282
 Alburz, mountain **36**: 301
 Alexandria, decline of — before
 Constantinople **37**: 63
 alphabet, theories of origin of **22**:
 177-200
 Alu **21**: 10
 ambara **31**: 52-53
 Amedi, identification of **38**: 228
 America, effect of Eastern Question
 upon discovery of **36**: 174-176
 American
 Council of Learned Societies **40**:
 77-80
 oriental studies, outlook for **38**:
 107-120
 scholarship and Chinese history
38: 97-106

- School of Living Oriental Languages **39**: 185-188
- Amharic, nouns and modifiers in **32**: 135-200
- amulet, amulets
from Palestine **31**: 272-281
Jewish mortuary **38**: 140-141
Jewish — in U. S. National Museum **37**: 43-56
- Anahita **21**: 169; **36**: 302
- Andaria, location of **37**: 182
- animal sacrifice
early form of **26**: 137-144
— of Land Dyaks **29**: 250-256
- Ankh symbol in Hebrew seals **29**: 193-194
- Anshan **33**: 31
- An-shar as variant of Asshur **24**: 304-311
- Anunnaki **30**: 123; **36**: 284; **37**: 30
- Anu-shar-ušur, business letter of **36**: 333-336
- apāna **22**: 249-308
- Apāna and Prāṇa **39**: 104-112
- Apaosha, demon of drought **36**: 303-313
- Arabic
linguistic boundary between Turkish and **36**: 170
— dialect of Baghdad **22**: 97-114
arabisms in Ben Sira **23**: 41
Egyptian colloquial — **34**: 278-281
nouns and modifiers in — syntax **32**: 135-200
- Arabs, relations between Turks and **37**: 153-161
- Aramaean as language of Chinese Fu-lin **30**: 17-24
- Aramaic
— boundary inscription found in Cilicia **28**: 164-167
— ostrakon from Nippur **29**: 204-209
nouns and modifiers in Biblical Aramaic syntax **32**: 135-200
aramaisms in Ben Sira **23**: 39
- Aramaiti **36**: 309
- Araziqi, location of, etc. **37**: 178
- Arbuda, slaying of —, by Indra **36**: 253-254
- Archaic tablet in E. A. Hoffman collection **23**: 19-28
- Arini, location of **37**: 179
- Ark of Yahweh **38**: 135
cherubim and — **25**: 279-286
- Armageddon **34**: 412-427
- Armenia **36**: 170
campaign of Sargon against **36**: 226-232
- Armenian
— and Persian month names **28**: 331-344
— mountains **36**: 168
- Arura, female divine element **36**: 284-285
- arvāc **27**: 402
- ascalabotes fascicularis in old Babylonian medicine **39**: 284-285
- Ashir as variant of -Asshur **24**: 294-300
- Ashmakhtha, Talmudic principle of **40**: 126-133
- Asia Minor as early home of Semites **39**: 243-260
- Askari soldier and Lascar sailor **36**: 417-418
- Asoka, dialects of 14 Edicts of **30**: 77-93, **31**: 223-250.
- Asokan notes **36**: 205-212.
- ASSEMANI, JOSEPH SIMONIUS, publications of **22**: 94
- ASSEMANI, STEPHANUS EVODIUS, publications of **22**: 94
- Asshur **36**: 228
— as epithet of A-usar **24**: 290
— originally name of place **24**: 282-289
— the god **24**: 282-311
variants of **24**: 282-289, 294-300, 304-311
- Asshurbanipal
notes on the annals of **24**: 96-102
votive inscription of **38**: 167-175

- Asshur-bel-kala, epitome of reign of **38**: 209
- Assurnazirpal
some unpublished inscriptions of **32**: 130-134
calculated frightfulness of **38**: 209-263
- Assyrian and Babylonian, dialectic differences between **33**: 397-401
- Assyrian
The — Chronicle **34**: 344-368
— grammatical treatise on an omen tablet **27**: 88-103
nouns and modifiers in — syntax **32**: 135-200
— translation of Siloam Inscription **22**: 60
— veterinary physician **37**: 331-332
glossary of — words **28**: 182
— word list **21**: 20-22
See Cuneiform
- Aṣṭa **23**: 113
- asterisms in the Mahābhārata **24**: 28-36
- Asuras, proselyting the **39**: 100-103
- Atharvaprāyaścittāni **33**: 71-144
indices to **33**: 217-253
Vorwort und Einleitung **34**: 229-277
- Atharva Veda
and Rig Veda **22**: 309-320
Çāntikalpa of the **33**: 265-278
duals in **30**: 155-185
- Kashmirian
Book I **26**: 197-295
Book II **30**: 187-258
Book III **32**: 343-390
Book IV **35**: 42-101
Book V **37**: 257-308
Book VI **34**: 374-411
Book VII **40**: 145-169
- Atonement, Day of **21**: 2; **37**: 221-223
- Atri, devotee of Indra **36**: 254
- AUDO, KASSISA ISRAEL, publications of **22**: 88
- AUDO, MAR THOMA, publications of **22**: 86
- Auramazda, *see* Ahura Mazda
- A-usar as early name of Asshur **24**: 282-289
- avāna **22**: 249-308
- Avesta
a new fragment of the **33**: 284-285
cattle tending and agriculture in the **39**: 329-333
the K-suffixes in the **31**: 93-150, 296-342
- Avestan
influence of — calendar on Persian month names **28**: 331-344
— *d* = Sanskrit *l* **25**: 175
corruption of — monotheism **39**: 332
syntax
preterite tenses of the indicative **21**: 112-145
subordinate clause **22**: 144-176
- axe-head, the Pierpont Morgan Babylonian **26**: 93-97
- Azarbaijan **25**: 181-183
- Azazel **21**: 2-3; **37**: 222
- Azerbaijani dialect, two religious poems in **39**: 113-116
- Azhi Dahāka **36**: 305-308, 312
- B**
- Babbar **36**: 138
- Babel, Tower of **40**: 276-281
- Babylonia; Babylonian (*see also* Cuneiform)
and Assyrian, dialectic differences between **33**: 396-401
axe-head, the Pierpont Morgan **26**: 93-97
belt buckle **38**: 308-309
blood revenge in **39**: 311-312
calendar in the reigns of Lugaland and Urkagina **31**: 251-271

- cosmology **22**: 138-144
 as key to Indo-Aryan **26**: 84-92
 deities, androgynous **21**: 185-187
 deluge story,
 Hilprecht's fragment of **31**: 30-48
 hero of **38**: 60-65
 emperor worship **36**: 360-380;
37: 162-163, 331
 immortality, conception of **37**: 34
 institutions
 influence of — upon P Code **21**: 4
 law and laws **36**: 1-33
 dependence of Talmudic principle of Asmakhta on **40**: 126-133
 linen weaving **36**: 415
 marriage laws **36**: 3-11, 24-31
 medicine
 medical books, titles of **37**: 250
ascalabotes fascicularis in **39**: 284-285
 origin of Plato's nuptial number **29**: 210-219
 parallel to Genesis 3, a new **39**: 287
 sage Ut-Napistim **38**: 60-65
 temple libraries **27**: 147-182
 views of origins
 similarity of — with Iranian **36**: 300-320
 vocabularies, supplement to **27**: 297-300
 Baghdad, Arabic dialect of **22**: 97-114
 Bai, Hindu deity **30**: 72
 Baku
 fire temple at **25**: 176-178
 Indian inscriptions on fire altar at **29**: 299-304
 Balaam, the home of **35**: 386-390
bar **39**: 91-99
 Farkuk, a door from the Madrasah of **30**: 58-60
 Barschusan, Sendschreiben des Patriarchen — an den Catholicus der Armenier **32**: 268-342
 Batan, original *l* in **36**: 191-193
 beast, number of — in Rev. **13**: 18; **26**: 315-317
 BEDJAN, PAUL, publications of **22**: 88
 beginnings, Sumerian view of **36**: 122-135
 Behistun: Behistan
 Old Persian inscriptions of **23**: 56-64
 inscription of Darius the Great **40**: 291-299
 rock, the **24**: 77-95
 Belit, the hymn to **24**: 103-128
 Bel, hymns to **29**: 184-191; **30**: 61-71, 313-324
 belt buckle, a Babylonian **38**: 308-309
 BENEDICTUS, PETRUS, publications of **22**: 94
 BENNI, BENHAM, publications of **22**: 93
 Ben-Sira, Hebrew text of **23**: 38-43
 Berezaiti, *see* Hara Beresaiti
 Bethlehem identified with Chinese Fu-lin **30**: 17
 Bhartṛharinirveda of Harihara translated **25**: 197-230
 Bhāsa, notes on the Svapnavāsavadatta of **35**: 269-272
 studies in **40**: 248-259
 Bhavabhūti, a bibliography of plays of **25**: 189-194
 Bilal, the first muezzin **30**: 133-135
 Bisaya: Bisayan
 cockneyism in **36**: 181-182
 dialects **26**: 120-136; **36**: 181
 differences between Tagalog and **25**: 162-169
 Bit-Adini, Assyrian campaigns against **38**: 246
 Black Sea **36**: 168
 Blanco, Solomon — in Genoa **38**: 181-182
 Blau monuments
 a new collation of **24**: 388-389
 notes on **22**: 118-125

blood

revenge

in Babylonia and Assyria **39**:
311-312

in late Greek literature **39**: 306

in ancient Israel **39**: 303-321

sacrifices in Palestine **27**: 104

taboo among Hebrews **36**: 151

test in Jewish folk lore **24**: 129-
144

Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance **29**:
284-298

Blue jackal, classical parallels to
story of **33**: 214-216

Bod'-Astart Inscription **23**: 156-
173; **24**: 211-218; **25**: 324-331;
29: 192-193

Bontok, loss of intervocalic *l* in **36**:
184

Borneo

animal sacrifice in **26**: 137-138

Land Dyaks of

harvest festivals of **29**: 236-280

harvest gods of **26**: 165-175

language, change of *l* to *r* in **36**:
189

racess and customs in **27**: 195-216

religion

of Kayans of **25**: 231-247

Mohammedanism **33**: 313-344

see Kayans, Land Dyaks, Sea
Dyaks

bowl-text

magical — of the Manicheans
32: 434-438; **33**: 279-280

Brahman: Brahmins

dates of the philosophical sūtras
of the **31**: 1-29

discussion of Deussen's definition
of **36**: 197-198

description of — wedding **22**:
322-328

Brāhmaṇa literature **26**: 176-196

contributions to history of. **23**:
325-349; **28**: 81-98

parallelisms between **23**: 325-349
see Ṣatyayana; Jaiminiya

Branches of Society, provision for
formation of **37**: 17

breath, Hindu conception of func-
tions of **22**: 249-308

bṛhacchandas **23**: 77-78

Brünnow's list of cuneiform ideo-
graphs, a supplement to **22**: 201-
220

Buddhist

philosophy **31**: 13-22

rule against eating meat **27**: 455-
464

Bukhtishu's *Manafi' al-Haiawan*
36: 381-389

burial rites

care for bones of dead among He-
brews **36**: 146-148

and blood revenge in ancient Is-
rael **39**: 303-321

Indic and Indian **37**: 75-76

Burj-Nāmah

Deccan parallels to **35**: 293-296

the Persian-Parsi **30**: 336-342

Burkhan **36**: 390-395; **37**: 167-168

Byzantine trade, early extent of **37**:
60-61

Byzantium and Troy, parallelism in
histories of **36**: 173

C

(for *C* compare also *Ṣ*)

cabinet, etymology of the word **28**:
108-111

Ṣakuntalā

editions and translations of **22**:
237-248

Kṛṣṇanātha's Commentary on **23**:
79-83

calendar: calendars

Afghan and Mohammedan com-
pared **28**: 332-333

influence of Avestan on Persian
month names **28**: 331-344

Babylonian

in reigns of Lugalanda and
Urkagina **31**: 251-271

Kugler's criterion for determin-
ing the order of months in
33: 296-395

Parsi-Persian omen **33**: 286-293

Sumerian **33**: 1-9

- Çamkara **36**: 197
 Çāntikalpa of the Atharva Veda **33**: 265-278
 Cantonese, tone accents of **35**: 199-204
 Çāradā-tilaka Tantra, The **23**: 65-76
 CARDAHI, GABRIEL, publications of **22**: 95
 cardinals, construction of — in Semitic **32**: 201-217
 Carthaginian deity, remarks on **32**: 429-433
 cassia and Somaliland **40**: 260-270
 Cassite liver omen text, a **38**: 77-96
 cattle tending and agriculture in the Avesta **39**: 329-333
catur **23**: 112
 Çātyāyana Brāhmaṇa, parallelisms between — and Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa **23**: 325-349
 Cebuan
 cockneyism in **36**: 181-182
 dialect **26**: 120-136
 Chaldean: Chaldeans
 influence of — beliefs upon Persia **36**: 300-320
 modern — and the study of Syriac **22**: 79-96
 Chang K'ien, Story of: Chapter 123 of Ssi-ma Ts'ien's *Shi Ki* **37**: 89-152
 Chavannes, Edouard, memorial of **38**: 202-205
 Cherubim, the Ark and the **25**: 279-286
 Chicago University, Oriental Institute of **40**: 282-285
 China: Chinese
 abolition of competitive examinations in **27**: 79-87
 American scholarship and — history **38**: 97-106
 caravan routes to — in the second century **37**: 240
 dialects, tone accents of **35**: 199-206
 domestication of cock in **33**: 373-374
 dynasties
 Chou **40**: 170-175
 Han **40**: 170-193
 Ts'in **40**: 175-177
 effect of — influence upon Persian Islam **36**: 177
 name for Christian world **30**: 32-45
 name for Huns **30**: 32-45
 notices of East Africa **30**: 46-57
 Christianity, adoption of pagan deities by **37**: 78-79
 chronology
 in the Mahābhārata **24**: 7-56
 of Vedic hymns **21**: 42-49
 Cilicia
 an Aramaic inscription from **35**: 370-374
 and North Syria, road notes from **28**: 155-163
 cinnamon and Somaliland **40**: 260-270
 clothing, removal of — as religious custom **21**: 28-34
 cock, the **33**: 363-396
 commerce, Sumerian god of **40**: 73-74
 Congressional Library, Hebrew collections in **36**: 355-359
 conservatism in religious customs **21**: 28-30
 Constantinople
 fall of — and discovery of America **36**: 175
 effect of site of — upon history **37**: 57-71
 construct chain in Semitic **32**: 217-225
 Coptic, modern pronunciation of **23**: 289-306
 cosmology
 Babylonian and Indo-Aryan **26**: 84-92
 Hindu **39**: 211-212

counting in the *Mahābhārata* **23**:
124-126
covenant, ark of the **38**: 135; **25**: 279
creation myths
 Babylonian **37**: 36-40
 Indic and Indian **37**: 76
creator gods **23**: 29-37
Cuneiform
 account of the deluge **25**: 68-75
 ideographs, supplement to Brün-
 now's list of **22**: 201-220
 inscriptions
 malediction in **34**: 282-309
 oath in **33**: 33-50
 texts vol. V, 81—7—27, 40 and 50,
 a conjectural interpretation of
 32: 103-114
 words, some unexplained **35**: 394-
 398
 see Assyrian
curse in the Paradise epic, the **39**:
322-328
Cybele **33**: 55-70
Cypriote antiquities, Marburg col-
lection of **22**: 18-19

D

DD-emblem of Osiris **39**: 196-205
da'alu **22**: 23-26
daça **23**: 116
Damascus, songs from **24**: 227-264
dance: dancing
 three Hebrew synonyms for **36**:
 321-332
 originally magic rites **36**: 327
 as part of festivals **36**: 326
 place in Hebrew vineyards **36**:
 324
Damgal = *Nin-ella* **36**: 301
DARAUNI, JOANNIS NOTAYN, publi-
cations of **22**: 95
Darius the Great
 Behistan inscription of **40**: 291-
 299
 religion of **21**: 160-184
dastabira, etymology of **31**: 359-364

date palm, propagation of the **35**:
207-212
dates in the *Mahābhārata* **24**: 48-55
dative case
 in the Upanishads **28**: 388-392
 in Vedic **28**: 360-406
DAVID, CLEMENS JOSEPH, publica-
tions of **22**: 92
day and night in the *Mahābhārata*
24: 14-18
Day of Atonement, Jewish **21**: 2-4;
37: 221-223
dead, care of bones of — among
 Hebrews **36**: 146-148
death ceremonial of the 'Kapola
 Bania' caste **22**: 227-236
DEBS, JOSEPH, publications of **22**:
95
Deccan parallels to the Burj-Namah
35: 293-296
decimal system in tribal organiza-
tion **37**: 74
Degrees, Songs of, metrical form of
27: 108-122
deities
 early Hebrew tribal **38**: 136
 pagan — adopted by Chris-
 tianity **37**: 78-79
 androgynous Babylonian **21**: 185-
 187
 Hindu and Indian direction —
 37: 77-78
Deluge story, cuneiform account of
25: 68-75; **31**: 30-48
 difficult passages in **32**: 1-16
 name of the ferryman in **23**: 48-
 50
demons of noonday and midnight
38: 160-166
Demotic folk-tale the basis of Goe-
the's *Der Zauberlehrling* **39**: 295-
298
Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft Assy-
rian expedition **22**: 27-34
Devi **30**: 72
Dhauli, Palsi and Jaugada dialects
30: 91-93
dhenā **32**: 393-413

- dialects of the Fourteen Edicts of Asoka, interrelation of **31**: 223-250
 Dilmun **36**: 145
 dimension terms in the Mahābhārata **23**: 138
 Direction deities, Hindu and Indian **37**: 77-78
 Disciples, The Magic Book of the **25**: 1-48
 divine determinative with non-theophorous name **36**: 362-377
 division in the Mahābhārata **23**: 132
 Divyāvadāna, notes on the **40**: 336-352
 Dohada, a motif of Hindu fiction **40**: 1-24
 Dolichenus, Jupiter **23**: 84-92
 dome structure, oldest monumental evidence of a — **39**: 122
 Dréhem, tablets from — in the Cleveland Public Library **33**: 167-179
 Druh **36**: 254
 dual, Vedic **23**: 318-324; **30**: 155-185; **32**: 33-57
 dualism in Old Persian religion **21**: 170
 Duazagga **37**: 38-40
 DUN, animal — in Sumerian inscriptions **33**: 402-404
 Dūtāṅgada of Subhāṭa, the **32**: 58-77
 dvīpas in Hindu literature **39**: 209-242
 Dyaks
 Mohammedanism of **33**: 313-344
 See Land Dyaks, Sea Dyaks
- E**
- Ea **21**: 5-22
 = Enki **36**: 282, 294
 influence of — on Persian thought **36**: 309
 eagle and serpent in Assyrian mythology **30**: 101-131
 Eannatum **36**: 139
 a galet of **38** 264-266
 the helmet of **38**: 68-69
 East Africa, early Chinese notices of **30**: 46-57
 Eastern Question, geographical origin of **36**: 172 ff.
 EREDJESUS, GEORGIUS V KHAHAT, publications of **22**: 85
 ECHELLENSIS, ABRAHAM, publications of **22**: 94
 Edgerton-Fay debate **40**: 84-102
 Egongot, *see* Ilongot
 Egypt; Egyptian
 advance of Sennacherib upon **24**: 265-274
 cadis, histories of **27**: 224
 cylinder **22**: 76-77
 domestication of cock in **33**: 388-389
 ink, oil and mirror gazing ceremonies in **36**: 37-53
 linguistic relations of — and Semitic **35**: 214-223
 loanword in **40**: 71
 Mohammedan treatises upon **28**: 254-270
 Sothic cycle used by **34**: 369-373
 transliteration of **24**: 275-281
 elephant
 magic jewel of Indian **31**: 349
 ordeal of — in choosing a king **33**: 158
 Ellil-bani, conveyance of land in reign of **36**: 34-36
 Eme-sal dialect **24**: 103-128
 emperor worship in Babylonia **36**: 360-380; **37**: 31, 162-163, 331
 Enakalli **36**: 139
 Engidu, Gilgamesh and **40**: 307-335
 English-Romany jargon **29**: 232-235
 Enki **36**: 138, 143 f., 282; **39**: 325
 See Ninella
 Enlil **30**: 123; **36**: 138, 289; **37**: 33
 hymn to **37**: 32
 En-Mashtu, original name of Ninib **28**: 141

Entemena
 a net cylinder of **36**: 137-139
 as deity **37**: 31
 Enzag **36**: 144
 Enzu **36**: 138
ἐπαιστος **40**: 121
 Epic chronology **24**: 7-56
 Epic of Paradise, The **36**: 90-114,
 122-135, 140-145, 269-273, 290-
 295; **37**: 36; **39**: 65-90; 322-328
 Eridu **36**: 282
 Erman's Egyptian Grammar **25**:
 84-88
 Erythraean Sea, the name of the
33: 349-362
 Eshmun **21**: 188-190; **22**: 116
 a new inscription from temple of
24: 218-226
 Eshmunazar dynasty **23**: 169; **24**:
 223
 Etana myth, a fragment of the **30**:
 101-131
 Ethiopic syntax, nouns and modi-
 fiers in **32**: 135-200
 Euphrates **36**: 139
 evil as a principle in Achaemenian
 religion **21**: 170
 Evil-wit, No-wit and Honest-wit **40**:
 271-275
 Evliya Effendi, travels of **37**: 224-
 239

F

Fa-hien, records of pilgrimage of
 — to India **40**: 227-228
 Far East, navigation to the —
 under the Roman Empire **37**:
 240-249
 Faridun, *see* Thraetaona
 fasts, Hindu **33**: 218
 Fatimide cadis, a distinguished
 family of — in the tenth cen-
 tury **27**: 217-296
 Fay-Edgerton debate **40**: 84-102
 fecundity, Gilgamesh and Engidu as
 genii of **40**: 307-335
 fertility, Indra as god of **36**: 242-
 268

festivals, Hebrew **37**: 214-223
 dancing at **36**: 326
 feudalism in China **40**: 170-175
 feudal regime in Japan after 1600
30: 259-300
 Field of Abram in the list of Sho-
 shenq I **31**: 86-91, 290-295
 philosophy *see* philosophy
 Fire altar at Baku, Indian inscrip-
 tions on the **29**: 299-304
 flood story, hero of Babylonian **38**:
 60-65
 folklore
 Hindu fiction in modern **36**: 56
 of modern India **39**: 1-54
 forged antiques **33**: 306-312
 Fountain of Youth, The **26**: 1-67,
 411-415
 Fourteen edicts of Asoka, interrela-
 tion of dialects of **31**: 223-250
 frogs, croaking of — as sign of
 rain **37**: 187
 Frog hymn of Rig Veda vii. 103,
 background of **37**: 186-191
 Fu-lin
 identified with Bethlehem **30**: 17
 the mystery of **30**: 1-31; **33**: 193-
 208

G

galet of Eannatum, a **38**: 264-266
 Gandarewa **36**: 311
 Gandhara figure, a **24**: 1-6
 Gaokerena **36**: 303, 311
 tree **36**: 306
 garments, tearing of — as sym-
 bol of mourning **21**: 23-39
 Gathas, *see* Vohumana
gavyūti **23**: 147
 Gaya Maretan **36**: 313
 gazelle, Assyrian, parallel to scape-
 goat **21**: 3-4
 gematria **36**: 155
 General Staff maps, British **39**: 58-
 59
 Genesis, documents of. *See* Penta-
 teuch

Genoa

Easterners in **38**: 178-187
in the 12th century **38**: 178-179

GIAMIL, QAIOMA MAE SAMUEL, publications of **22**: 87

Gideon's water lappers **22**: 70-75

Gilgamesh and Engidu, genii of fecundity **40**: 307-335

Gimil-Sin, date formula of fourth year of **37**: 330-331

Girnar

and Kalsi dialects, relation of **30**: 87-91

version of Fourteen Edicts of Asoka **30**: 87-89; **31**: 223-250

god, gods

names of — in Tamil **39**: 285

— of healing, Iranian **38**: 294-307

— of Land Dyaks **29**: 256-259

pagan — adopted by Christianity **37**: 78

Goethe's *Der Zauberlehrling*, a demotic folk-tale, the basis of **39**: 295-298

Gordon, C. G., a letter of Muhammad Ahmad to **31**: 368-388

Graeco-Roman navigation in Indian Ocean **37**: 241

Great Epic **22**: 388-389 *see* Mahābhārata

Greece, Greek

domestication of cock in **33**: 380-383

blood revenge in late — literature **39**: 306

Syriac contributions to history of — philosophy **35**: 297-317

— versions of Old Testament **30**: 301-312

Guedin **36**: 139

guilt, ideas of — in oldest Sanskrit texts **34**: 233-241

Gu-la-a, as consort of Bel **30**: 320

Gul u Nauruz **23**: 102-108

gul-gik **38**: 66-68

Gundishapur, medical college at **36**: 383

GURIEL, JOSEPH, publications of **22**: 90

Gurshisp, *see* Keresaspa

Gypsy jargon and vocabulary **28**: 271-308

H

hada vīdāibis bagabis **21**: 181-182

hair, religious rites connected with:

Indic and Indian **37**: 73-74

H(x)alule, battle of **36**: 226

Hammurabi, Hammurapi **36**: 280
the name **37**: 250-253

structure of code of **25**: 248-265
earlier and later elements in code of **36**: 1-33

time and place of promulgation of code of **27**: 123-134

penal laws of code of **28**: 310-311
notes on — monument **25**: 266-278

Han dynasty, development of Western **40**: 170-193

haoma sacrifice, connection of — with Thrīta **38**: 296

Hara Berezaiti, mythical mountain of Persia **36**: 301-306

harapu **29**: 226

Harayan dialect **26**: 120-136

Harihara, the Bhartṛharinirveda of — translated **25**: 197-230

Harsha, time analysis of dramas of **21**: 88-108

harvest festivals

Hebrew **36**: 326-328

of Land Dyaks **29**: 236-280

Hazazu, epitome of history of city of **38**: 247-249

healing, Iranian gods of **38**: 294-307

Hebrew

biconsonantal roots in **27**: 305-308

expression of indefinite pronominal ideas in — **34**: 115-228

festivals **37**: 214-223

intransitive verbal forms in — **24**: 145-204

Metheg in — **32**: 78-102
 the Pilel in — **27**: 303-316
 Sabbath **37**: 209-214
 ankh syllable in — seals **29**:
 193-194
 nouns and modifiers in — syn-
 tax **32**: 135-200
 early — tribal deities **38**: 136
 names of — vowels **22**: 13-17
 — word for *to sew* **40**: 71-72
 Hellas as designation of Seleucid
 empire **25**: 302-311
 helmet of Eannatum **38**: 68-69
 hieroglyphic tablet : T.S.B.A. vol.
 vi, pp. 454 f. **33**: 16-23
 Hijaz
 postage stamps of **37**: 87-88
 revolts of — against Turkish
 rule **37**: 153-161
 Hiliguayna dialect **26**: 120-136
 Hilprecht's fragment of the Baby-
 lonian deluge story **31**: 30-48
 Hindiisms in Sanskrit **38**: 206-207;
 40: 81-102
 Hindu
 conception of functions of breath
 22: 249-308
 cosmology **39**: 211-212
 customs: dying to redress a griev-
 ance **21**: 146-159
 dialects
 interchange of letters in **29**:
 290-291
 fasts **33**: 218
 fiction
 the Dohada a motif of **40**: 1-24
 recurring psychic motifs in **36**:
 54-89
 Hiung-nu, identity of — with
 Huns **30**: 32-45
 Holy One, The — in Psalm 16, 10
 32: 120-125
 Home of the Semites, The **39**: 243-
 260
 horse
 ordal of — in choosing a king
 33: 159

Solomon's — trade **26**: 104
 Hugar, mount **36**: 302
 Huhunuri **33**: 31
 Hulaku **36**: 178
 human sacrifice in India **30**: 76

I

Ibn Hajar
 description of work of **27**: 225
 text of **27**: 238-268
 translation of **27**: 269-296
 Ibn Hazm's presentations of Shiite
 heterodoxies **28**: 1-80
 Ibn Zulaḡ **28**: 254-270
 Ieyasu, Tokugawa, ruler of feudal
 Japan **30**: 259
ihrām **21**: 26
 Ilocano **25**: 170-172
 Ilongot, original *l* in **36**: 194
 Ilushubani of Sippar **29**: 221-223
 immortality
 Babylonian conception of **37**: 34
 in Judaism **40**: 118
 Persian tree of **36**: 303
 incantation
 attached to myths **36**: 279
 Sumerian — rites **21**: 1-22
 indefinite pronominal ideas in He-
 brew **34**: 115-228
 India; Indic (*see also* Hindu)
 — and the West **40**: 225-247
 conception of functions of breath
 22: 249-308
 cosmology **39**: 211-212
 dialects **29**: 290-291
 domestication of the cock in —
 33: 375-377
 dying to redress a grievance in
 — **21**: 146-159
 fasts **33**: 218
 fiction, *see* Hindu
 folklore of modern — **39**: 1-54
 long isolation of — **40**: 225-226
 notes from — **22**: 321-332; **23**:
 307-317
 philosophy, *see* Brahman
 relations of Mogul emperors of

- with Shah Abbas the Great **35**: 247-268
 religions of —. *See* Ādityas, Agni, Bai, Indra, etc.
 Roman navigation to — **37**: 244
 sniff-kiss in ancient — **28**: 120-134
 Tamil political divisions of — in the first two centuries A.D. **33**: 209-213
 — inscriptions on fire altar at Baku **29**: 299-304
- Indian
 and Indic religious parallels **37**: 72-84
 Indo-Aryan cosmology
 relation of — to Babylonian **26**: 84-92
 unsolved problems in — **26**: 84-92
 Indo-Iranian **40**: 121-125
 The K-suffixes in — **31**: 93-150, 296-342
 chronology of — sound changes **33**: 259-262
 — treatment of IE *k*'s **40**: 81-84
 — word studies **31**: 403-414; **34**: 329-343; **39**: 206-207
 Indonesian *l* in Philippine languages **36**: 181-196
- Indra
 — and Agni **35**: 260
 Parjanya **36**: 255-256
 Pūṣan **36**: 256-257
 Soma **36**: 256
 Varuṇa **36**: 260
 Atri as devotee of — **36**: 254
 — as god of fertility **36**: 242-268; **37**: 85-86
 — as Mars **36**: 260
 community of Maruts and **36**: 245-250
 epithet of — **21**: 50-52
 — in the guise of a monkey **26**: 192-196
 epithet in the guise of a woman **26**: 176-188
 — as Indian equivalent of Ramman **38**: 295
 mountains connected with name of — **30**: 357-362
 persistence of cult of — **36**: 242
 slaying of Arbuda by — **36**: 253-254
 Infixes in Tagalog **27**: 142-146
 Inibaloi, original *l* in — **36**: 190
 Ink, oil and mirror gazing ceremonies in modern Egypt **36**: 37-53
 Innocent suffering for the guilty **28**: 309-316
 Inscriptions, announcement of Yale Library of Ancient — **39**: 283-284
 inscriptions, textual criticism of — **40**: 289-299
 internal passive in Semite **22**: 45-54
 intransitive verbal forms in Hebrew **24**: 145-204
- Iranian
 — gods of healing **38**: 294-307
 — miscellanies **33**: 281-294
 — religion: *see* Airyaman, Thritha
 — views of origins **36**: 300-320
 Irbid, amulets from — **31**: 272-281
 Irman, Pahlavi god of healing **38**: 294-295
 iron trade of Roman Empire **35**: 224-239
 Ishtar **21**: 10, 185-187; **22**: 27; **28**: 112-119; **30**: 123; **36**: 302
 etymology of **31**: 355-358
 prayer to **37**: 28
 Isinai language
 notes on **35**: 289-292
 original *l* in **36**: 187
 Islam *see* Mohammedanism
 ismin **31**: 49-50
 Israel, blood revenge and burial rites in ancient — **39**: 303-321

Iti-vuttaka, metrical analysis of **28**:
317-330

J

- J document of Genesis **36**: 296-298
 JACOB, KASSISA, publications of **22**:
88
 Jahangir, relations of Shah Abbas
 with — **35**: 247-268
 Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa
 contributions of — to history
 of Brāhmaṇa literature **23**: 325-
 349; **26**: 176-196, 306-314; **28**:
 81-98
 parallelisms between — and
 Āṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa **23**: 325-
 349
 Japan: Japanese
 — Book of the Ancient Sword
 26: 334-410
 lyric drama **22**: 129-137
 village government in — after
 1600 **30**: 259-300; **31**: 151-216
 See feudalism; Tokugawa
 Jaugāḍa, Kalsi and Dhauli dialects
30: 91-93
 jewel, magic — of Indian ele-
 phant **31**: 349
 Jewish
 amulets in U. S. National Museum
 37: 43-56
 folk lore: blood test in — **24**:
 129-144
 mortuary amulet **38**: 140-141
 New Year's Day **36**: 297
 songs: a collection of — **24**:
 227-264
 Johnston, Christopher: memorial
 minute of — **36**: 339-341
 Jokha **36**: 137
 Joshua, the Washington manuscript
 of **31**: 365-367
 Julien's Dictionary of Manchu **40**:
 140-141
 jumping mouse, Babylonian repre-
 sentation of a **38**: 140
 Jupiter Dolichenus **23**: 84-92

K

- kabairos* **33**: 55-70
kaemlet, Arabic, and *kalmat*, Assy-
 rian **36**: 416
 Kalamu inscription **35**: 364-369
 Kalhu, Assyrian occupation of **38**:
 256-257
 Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra and
 Vikramorvaṇī, bibliography of **23**:
 93-101
 Kalsi, Girnar, Dhauli and Jaugāḍa
 dialects **30**: 90-93
 Kankanai, loss of intervocalic *l* in
 — **36**: 185
 Kashmirian Atharva Veda, *see*
 Atharva Veda
 Kaski, Assyrian campaigns against
37: 173
 Kayans
 race and customs of **27**: 195-216
 religion of **25**: 231-247
 Kenites, connection of — with
 Hebrews **38**: 135
 Keresaspa, story of **36**: 305-311
khudati **27**: 415
 king, choosing of — by divine
 will **33**: 158-166
 King John and the Abbot, oriental
 analogues to the ballad of **22**:
 221-226
 King of the Deep, epithet of Ea **36**:
 282
 Kir-gi-lu, hymn to **30**: 325-335
 Kirḫu, Assyrian campaign against
38: 220-221
kiri **31**: 51-52
 Kirruri, Assyrian campaign against
38: 219-220
 Kish **36**: 139
 kissing in ancient India **28**: 120-134
Kitab Masalik an-Nazar of Sa'id
 ihn Hasan **24**: 312-383.
 Komang, god of the Land Dyaks
29: 257
 Koran: attitude of — toward
 medical treatment **36**: 382
kroca **23**: 146

- Kṛṣṇamīśra, bibliography of plays of **25**: 194-196
 Kṛṣṇanātha's Commentary on the Bengal recension of the *Çakuntalā* **23**: 79-83
 Kugler's criterion for determining the order of months in the earliest Babylonian calendar **33**: 296-305
 Kutsa Ārjuneya, devotee of Indra **36**: 254
 Kybele *see* Cybele

L

- l*, Indonesian — in Philippine languages **36**: 180-196
l to *r*, change of **36**: 189
 Lagash **36**: 137-139
 Land Dyaks
 agricultural taboos of **29**: 247-249
 animal sacrifice of **29**: 250-256
 gods of **26**: 165-175; **29**: 256-259
 harvest festivals of **29**: 236-239
 religion: *see* star worship, Triu, Tuppa
 symbolism among **29**: 275-280
 tribal organization of **29**: 259-264
lanu **37**: 253-255
 Latin, Sanskrit periphrastic future in **34**: 343
la'u, the five Assyrian stems **32**: 17-20
laun **37**: 253-255
 laugh and cry motif in Hindu fiction **36**: 68-89
 Learned Societies, American Council of **40**: 77-80
 Levantines in Genoa in the 12th century **38**: 179-185
 lex talionis
 in the Code of Hammurapi **36**: 17-22
 in Manu **26**: 196
 libraries in Babylonian temples **27**: 147-182
 Library of Congress, Hebrew collections in **36**: 354-359
 ligature in Tagalog and analogies in other languages **29**: 227-231
 Lihyanic syntax, nouns and modifiers in **32**: 135-200
 linen weaving, old Babylonian **36**: 415
 liquid letters, vocalic — in Semitic **31**: 217-222
 Lithuanian *klonas*, *kluonas* **40**: 353-355
 liver-omen text, a Cassite **38**: 77-96
 Living Oriental Languages, Schools of
 American **39**: 185-188
 European **39**: 151-154, 189-195.
 loin cloth, use of — among Semites **21**: 26-27
 Lugalandā, Babylonian calendar in reign of **31**: 251-271
 Lugal-du-Azagga = Enki **36**: 282-285
 Lummagirnunta **36**: 137
 Luqia River, identification of **38**: 229
 Lushtamar, old Babylonian letter addressed to **29**: 220-223
 Luzon, some minor languages of **25**: 170-174
 Lyons Codex of the Old Latin, additions to Field from **33**: 254-258

M

- m* and *v*, interchange of — in Hindu dialects **29**: 290
 Magadhan, influence of — in dialects of Fourteen Edicts of Asoka **30**: 77-93
 Magi and worship of Infant Jesus **26**: 79-83
 —magic, Christian **25**: 1-48
 Magic Book of the Disciples **25**: 1-48
 Mahābhārata
 addition in **23**: 124-126
 asterisms in **24**: 28-36
 chronology in **24**: 7-56

- counting in **23**: 124-126
 dimension terms in **23**: 138
 division in **23**: 132
 mythological aspects of trees and
 mountains in **30**: 347-374
 night and day in **24**: 14-18
 numbers in **23**: 109-155, 350-357;
 24: 7-56
 planets in **24**: 36-39
 Yoga technique in **22**: 333-379
 Mahipati's *Bhaktalīlāmṛita* xli:
 148-213 translation **40**: 301-306
 Mahomet Ali **36**: 170
 Mai, Hindu deity **30**: 72
 MAKDASI, MAR EREMLA, publications
 of **22**: 87
 Malay archipelago, race and custom
 in **27**: 195-216
 Malayo-Polynesians, birthplace of
 27: 318
 Malays, Mohammedanism of **33**:
 313-344
 malediction in cuneiform inscrip-
 tions **34**: 282-309
 Mālobā, the Maratha saint **40**: 300-
 306
 Malulan syntax: nouns and modi-
 fiers in **32**: 135-200
 Manafi' al-Haiawan, manuscript of
 36: 381-389
 Manchu language, Julien's dictionary
 of **40**: 140-141
 Mandaic syntax: nouns and modi-
 fiers in **32**: 135-200
 Mandaya, original *l* in **36**: 186
 Manichaeans
 magical bowl text of **33**: 279-280,
 285
 original script of **32**: 434-438
 Mansera and Shāhbāzgarhi redac-
 tions of the Fourteen Edicts of
 Asoka **30**: 81-87
 manuscripts: making of palm leaf
 — in Siam **29**: 281-283
 maps of the British General Staff
 39: 58-59
 Marburg collection of Cypriote an-
 tiquities **23**: 18-19
 Marduk **21**: 6-22; **24**: 294-298; **36**:
 299
 marriage customs: Hindu and Peru-
 vian **37**: 77
 marriage laws: ancient Babylonian
 36: 3-11, 24-31
 Mars, counterpart of Indra **36**: 260
 Mar-tu, Amorite deity **28**: 140
 Maruts, community of Indra and
 36: 245-250
 Marutvat, as epithet of Indra **36**:
 245
maś **39**: 91-99
māyā: doctrine of — in early
 Upanishads **36**: 198-199
 Mayūrāṣṭaka, an unedited poem of
 Mayūra **31**: 343-354
 Mazaka: origin of name of **37**: 170
 Mazda, see Ahura Mazda
 Mazdean triad **36**: 302
 meat, Buddhistic rule against eating
 27: 455-464
 medicine: medical
 college at Gundishapur **36**: 383
 old Babylonian **39**: 284-285
 Babylonian titles of — text
 books **37**: 250
 treatment according to Koran **36**:
 382
 Meeting, the Tent of **38**: 125-139
 Megiddo, mountain as battle scene
 34: 415-427
 Mehri syntax: nouns and modifiers
 in **32**: 135-200
 Melanesian languages: loss of origi-
 nal *l* in **36**: 186
 MELLUS, MAR ELIA, publications of
 22: 85
 Melqart **21**: 189
 Mesilim, king of Kish **36**: 139
 message sacrifice **26**: 137, 416
 metempsychosis, Indic and Indian
 37: 75
 metheg, the Hebrew **32**: 78-102
 metrical analysis of *Iti-vuttaka* **28**:
 317-330
 Middle West Branch of Society **36**:

- 423-425; **38**: 70-75; **39**: 123-127;
40: 134-139
- Mimi, Teutonic water god **38**: 300
- minaret, origin and history of the
30: 132-154
- Mind as Wish-car in the Veda **39**:
 280-282
- Mineo-Sabean syntax, nouns and
 modifiers in **32**: 135-200
- mirror gazing ceremonies in modern
 Egypt **36**: 37-53
- Mithra (Persian) **21**: 169
- Moabite
- Stone, unidentified geographical
 names in **22**: 61-63
- syntax: nouns and modifiers in
32: 135-200
- modern oriental languages, *see* living
- Modern Persian *bi* : Lithuanian *be* -
33: 293-294
- Modern Syriac, pronunciation of **25**:
 76-78
- Mohammed 'Abdu, late Mufti of
 Egypt **28**: 189-197
- Mohammedan
- and Afghan calendars compared
28: 332-333
- history: Fatimide Cadis of tenth
 century **27**: 217-296
- historians **28**: 254-270
- mysticism **36**: 345-346
- pilgrims: sacred dress of **21**: 26
- Mohammedanism
- in Borneo **33**: 313-344
- index of subjects and names in
29: 161-182
- heterodoxies of the Shiites **28**: 1-
 80
- see* Bilal
- Mongol art, effect of — on Per-
 sian Islam **36**: 387
- monotheism in the Avesta, corrup-
 tion of **39**: 332
- months
- in the Mahābhārata **24**: 18-25
- Babylonian **31**: 251-271; **33**: 297-
 305
- moon
- descent of **39**: 86-90
- Parsi-Persian omens of **30**: 336-
 342
- mortuary amulet, Jewish **38**: 140-
 141
- Moths and the Flame*, Allegory of
 the **36**: 345-347
- motifs in Hindu fiction **36**: 54-89
- mountains and trees, mythological
 aspects of — in the Great Epic
30: 347-374
- mountains as obstacles to Semitic
 civilizations **36**: 170
- mountains as original home of Su-
 merians **36**: 288-299
- mourning, tearing of garments as
 symbol of **21**: 23-39
- Mrechakatika, notes on the **27**: 418-
 454
- Muhammad Ahmad Mahdi, letter of
 — to C. G. Gordon **31**: 368-388
- Mullil, hymn to **30**: 313-324
- multiplication in the Mahābhārata
23: 128
- Muramasa, legend of **26**: 334
- Mushki, vassals of Assyria **37**: 170
- music, Jewish **24**: 227-264
- musical air from Coptic Mass **23**:
 304-305
- Musri, location of **37**: 178-179
- myaks*, the root — in the Rig
 Veda **39**: 285-286
- mysticism of Sufis **36**: 345-346
- myths
- attached to incantations **36**: 279
- migratory nature of **36**: 300
- N**
- Nabu **22**: 28
- Nāgānanda, time analysis of **21**:
 101-108
- nahus* **27**: 410
- nakedness in sanctuary **21**: 28-29
- nakedness, Semitic aversion to **21**:
 29
- nalra* **23**: 145

- Nannar, hymn to — as moon god
37: 32
nagbu **22: 10-11**
 National Museum, oriental antiquities in **23: 44-47**
nava **23: 115**
 navigation to the Far East under the Roman Empire **37: 240-249**
 Near Orient, place of — in career of man **39: 159-184**
 Nebo **36: 144**
 Nehunyah ben Ha-Kanah **36: 159**
 Nergal, hymn to **28: 168-182**
 prayer to **37: 30**
 Nestorians, modern — and the study of Syriac **22: 79-96**
 net, metaphor of — among primitive Sumerians **36: 138**
 New Year's Day, Hebrew **36: 297; 37: 219-221**
 night and day in the Mahābhārata **24: 14-18**
 N'IMO, MAR MICHAEL, publications of **22: 86**
 Nimrod: possible Sumerian origin of the name **40: 201-203**
 Nimrod Epic, beginning of **22: 7-12**
 Nina, consort of Tammuz **30: 100**
 Nin-ella, consort of Enki **36: 291**
 Nineveh
 fall of **22: 20-22**
 Xenophon's account of fall of **28: 99-107**
 Ningirsu of Lagash **36: 137-139**
 Ninbarsag **36: 138, 143, 290; 39: 326**
 Nin-ib **28: 135-144**
 Ninib-Ninurta **38: 197-201**
 Ninlil **36: 290**
 Nippur **36: 279-299**
 an Aramaic ostrakon from **29: 204-209**
 plan of **26: 146**
 temple library at **26: 145-164; 27: 154-156**
nis **37: 329-330**
 nominal co-ordination in Semitic **32: 257-267**
 non-theophorous names with divine determinative in Babylonia **36: 362-377**
 noonday, Demon of **38: 160-166**
 notarikon **36: 155**
 noun and its modifiers in Semitic **32: 201-267**
 number of beast in Rev XIII: **18; 26: 315-317**
 numerals, Aina **37: 192-208**
 numbers in the Mahābhārata **23: 109-155, 350-357; 24: 7-56**
 nuptial number, Babylonian origin of Plato's — **29: 210-219**
- O**
- cath in Cuneiform inscriptions **33: 33-50**
obolos, origin of the Greek word **29: 208**
 Oceanos, Greek parallel to Trita **38: 301**
 Old Persian Inscriptions, script of and studies in **35: 321-352**
 Old Testament, vocabulary of Greek versions of **30: 301-312**
 omen calendars, Parsee-Persian **33: 286-293**
 Orient, place of Near — in career of man **39: 159-184**
 Oriental
 Institute of University of Chicago **40: 282-285**
 languages: schools for living — in Europe **39: 151-154; 189-195**
 trade: overland — at Christian Era **35: 31-41**
 origins: Babylonian and Iranian views of — compared **36: 300-320**
 origin of Tibetan writing **38: 34-46**
 Osiris
 the DD emblem of **39: 196-205**
 Tammuz and **35: 213-223**
 ossuaries, Hebrew inscriptions upon **28: 355-359**
 ostrakon, a Coptic **34: 313-314**

P

- pada-vi* 40: 121
Pahlavi bowl inscription deciphered by E. W. West 28: 345-348
Palau language, notes on phonology of 35: 1-15
Palestine
 bloody sacrifices in 25: 312-313; 27: 104
 early amulets from 31: 252-281
 Palestinian: nouns and modifiers in — syntax 32: 135-200
 Pali commentaries, source of the 38: 267-268
 palm leaf manuscripts: making of — in Siam 29: 281-283
Palmyrene
 inscriptions in N. Y. Metropolitan Museum 26: 105-112
 tesserae 26: 113-116; 37: 397-399
Pampānga, monosyllabic roots in 31: 389-394
Pañcadivyaḍhivāsa 33: 158-166
Pāñcatantra in modern Indian folklore 39: 1-54
Pangasinan, original *l* in 36: 190
Pantheon of Tyre 22: 115-117
Paradise, Babylonian Epic of, *see* Epic
 Five trees of — in the Great Epic 30: 352
parallels: Indic and Indian religious 37: 72-84
Parjanya and Indra 36: 255-256
Parsi-Persian omen calendars 33: 286-293
Parsis, meeting with 22: 321-322
passive: internal — in Semitic 22: 45-54
Passover, Feast of 37: 214-215
Παριγαίῃς 40: 200-201
P'ausa, location of 37: 180-191
Pekingese, tone accents of 35: 204-206
Pentateuch, P document of 21: 4; 36: 295-297
 Samaritan: description of the case of a roll of 27: 105-107
Pentecost, Feast of 37: 215-217
Persia
 domestication of cock in 33: 377-380
 influence of Chaldaean beliefs upon 36: 300-320
 influence of Chinese civilization upon 36: 177
 notes of a journey to 25: 176-184
Persian
 Gulf 36: 179
 literature: influence of — upon Platen 21: 40-41
 names of months: influence of Avestan calendar upon 28: 331-344
 Old — religion 21: 160-184
 — references to Zoroaster and his religion 28: 183-188
 script in old Persian inscriptions 35: 321
 syntax in old Persian inscriptions 35: 322
 tree of immortality 36: 303
 — perfect: pre-Aryan origins of 39: 117-121
 words in Old — inscriptions 35: 322
personal pronominal qualification in Semitic 32: 267
Peshitta of Gen 32: 25; 33: 263-264
Petra, High-place, inscriptions in 23: 349-351; 29: 197-202
Philippine
 grammar 27: 317-396; 28: 199-253
 languages 27: 318-323
 bibliography of 40: 25-70
 Indonesian *l* in 36: 181-196
 ligature in 29: 227-231

- monosyllabic roots in **31**: 389-394
 the RGH law in **31**: 70-85
 to *be* and to *have* in **30**: 375-391
see also under names of languages
 philosophy of the Upanishads **36**: 197-204
 Phoenicia; Phoenician
 religion: *see* Tyre, Adonis, etc.
 syntax: nouns and modifiers in **32**: 135-200
 a — royal inscription **23**: 156-173
 phonetic relations in Sumerian **39**: 265-279
 phonetics of Sanskrit *anadūd-bhyas* **40**: 82
 phrase words and phrase derivatives **40**: 194-198
 pilgrims, sacred dress of Moham-medan — **21**: 26
 Pillar edicts of Asoka **36**: 205-212
-pītvam, the Vedic posterius **39**: 261-264
 planets in the Mahābhārata **24**: 36-39
 Platen, influence of Persian literature upon **21**: 40-41
 Plato's nuptial number, Babylonian origin of **29**: 210-219
 Polo, Marco, and the magi who came to worship Jesus **26**: 79-83
 polychrome lion recently found in Babylon **22**: 27-34
 portrait painting as dramatic device in Sanskrit plays: **39**: 299-302
 postage stamps of the Hijaz **37**: 87-88
 Prakrit **32**: 414-428; **33**: 145-149
 Prakritisms in Vedic hymns **32**: 415
 Prāṇa and apāna **39**: 104-112
prāṇa **22**: 249-308
praticīh **27**: 417
 Paraya, seven forms of **21**: 150-156
 prayer and song in the Rig Veda **32**: 396
 prepositional phrases in Semitic **32**: 225-238
 priestesses among Land Dyaks **29**: 265-271
 Priyadarçikā, time analysis of **21**: 94-101
 pronominal ideas: indefinite — in Hebrew **34**: 115-228
 pronouns of Semitic and Egyptian **35**: 215-217
 psychic motifs in Hindu fiction **36**: 54-89
 Puitika, Persian gulf **36**: 302
 purification rites, Sumerian **21**: 1-22
 Pūṣan and Indra **36**: 256-257
- Q**
- qananu* **29**: 224-226
 Qummuḥ, campaign of Assyria against **37**: 170-171; **38**: 236
 Qurḥi, campaigns of Tiglath Pileser against **37**: 171-173
- R**
- r* and *l*,
 change of **36**: 189
 interchange of — in Hindu dialects **29**: 291
 RAHMANI, EPHRAEM, publications of **22**: 93
 Rājasekhara: Viddhaśālabhañjikā **27**: 1-71
 Rāmāyaṇa, linguistic archaism of the **25**: 89-145
 Rāmdās, some folk stories of **25**: 185-188
 Ramman (Adad), Babylonian equivalent of Indra **38**: 295
 Rassam prism of Sardanapalus **36**: 226
 Ratnāvalī, time analysis of **21**: 90-94
 Rechabites **38**: 136
 Red Sea, name of the **32**: 115-119
 religion
 etymology of the word **32**: 126-129
 economic study of **24**: 394-426

- universality of **25**: 332-335
 religious conceptions underlying
 Sumerian proper names **34**: 315-320
 religious customs behind those of daily life **21**: 28
 religious parallels, Indic and Indian **37**: 72-84
 removal of sandals, religious significance of **21**: 28
 repetitions in the Rig Veda **31**: 49-69
 resurrection in Judaism **40**: 118
 reversion to earlier customs in religious observances **21**: 28-30
reiṣama, an epithet of Indra **21**: 50-52
 Ribaldi di Saraphia in Genoa **38**: 182-184
 Rig Veda
 ā-diś in the **40**: 89-92
 — and Atharva Veda **23**: 309-320
 duals in **30**: 155-185
 prayer and song in **32**: 396
 repetitions in **31**: 49-69
 root *myakṣ* in **39**: 285-286
 RISO, G., publications of **22**: 96
 rites
 ancient Hebrew mourning — **21**: 23-39
 Sumerian incantation and purification — **21**: 1-22
 Roman Empire
 eastern iron trade of **35**: 224-239
 navigation to the Far East under **37**: 240-249
 Rome; contrast between — and Constantinople **37**: 57
 Romany-English jargon and glossary **28**: 271-308; **29**: 232-235
 Roah ha-shanah **36**: 297; **37**: 219-221
 Rusas **36**: 227-232
- S
- (for § compare also C)
 Sabbath, the Hebrew **37**: 209-214
- Sabum **33**: 31
 sackcloth, use of — in mourning **21**: 23-39
 sacrifice; sacrifices
 animal —, early form of **26**: 137-144
 animal — of Land Dyaks **29**: 250-256
 bloody — in Palestine **25**: 312-313; **27**: 104
 Hindu **33**: 219-221
 human — in India **30**: 76
 in oldest Sanskrit texts **34**: 244-266
 message — **26**: 137, 416
 Safaitic syntax, nouns and modifiers in **32**: 135-200
 Sagastān, Wonders of —: translation and translation of **36**: 115-121
 SAHHAR, MAR JACOB, publications of **23**: 87
 Sa'id ibn Hasan **24**: 312-314
 Śākadvīpa
 — and Śvetadvīpa **39**: 209-242
 — in the mythical world view of India **40**: 356-358
 Salisbury, Edward Elbridge: memorial of **22**: 1-6
 Samal, loss of intervocalic *l* in **36**: 185
samāna **22**: 249-308
 Samaritan syntax, nouns and modifiers in **32**: 135-200
 Samaro-Leytean dialect **26**: 120-136
 Sambali, original *l* in **36**: 187-188
 Sāmkhya **36**: 199
 Samsu-iluna, contract from reign of **27**: 135-141
 sandals, religious significance of removal of **21**: 28
 Sanskrit
 dual in **30**: 155-185
 Hindiisms in **38**: 206-207; **40**: 81-102
 K-suffixes in **31**: 93-150, 296-342
 — *l* = Avestan *d* **25**: 175

- K suffixes, Middle Indic and Vedic **33**: 145-149
 — passive stem **40**: 199
 — philology of the Occident **40**: 231
 — plays; portrait painting as dramatic device in **39**: 299-302
 time analysis of **21**: 88-108
 —, Vedic and Prakrit **32**: 414-428
 — words, studies of **27**: 402-417
saptan **23**: 113
 Sardanapalus, Rassam prism of **36**: 226
 Sargon, eighth campaign of **36**: 226-332
 scapegoat
 similarity of Assyrian gazelle to — **21**: 4
 SCERBABI, AUGUSTINUS, publications of **22**: 95
 Schliemann's investigations **36**: 173
 School (schools) of living Oriental languages **39**: 151-154
 need of an American — **39**: 185-188
 — in Europe **39**: 189-195
 SCIADRENSIS, ISAAC, publications of **22**: 94
 scrying in Muslim lands **36**: 38
 Sea Dyaks, religion of **25**: 231-247
 seal, an old Hebrew — **24**: 205-206
 seal impressions upon Babylonian contracts **27**: 135-141
 seals, the ankh symbol in Hebrew — **29**: 193-194
 seasons in the Mahābhārata **24**: 25-28
 sects of Shiites, traditional number of **28**: 6-8
 Seleucid Empire, Yawan and Hellas as designations of **25**: 302-311
 Semites, Semitic
 ampliative plurals **22**: 10
 — and Egyptian, linguistic relations of **35**: 214-223
 — epigraphical notes **24**: 205-226
 — grammar, studies in **35**: 375-385
 home of the — **39**: 243-260
 nouns and modifiers in **32**: 201-267
 penal laws of — before Deuteronomy **28**: 309-311
 Sennacherib
 —'s account of the Battle of Xalule **36**: 226
 advance of — upon Egypt **24**: 265-274
 serpent and eagle in Assyrian mythology **30**: 101-131
 Shabitu of Egypt **24**: 265
 Shah Abbas the Great of Persia: relations of — with Mogul Emperors **35**: 247-268
 Shahbazgarhi and Mansera redactions of Fourteen Edicts of Asoka **30**: 81-87
 Shamash **30**: 101-131
 a political hymn to — **33**: 10-15
 Shamas-shum-ukin, eldest son of Esarhaddon **25**: 79-83
 Shamsi Adad, epitome of reign of **38**: 209-210
 Shara of Umma **36**: 137
 Shatt el Hai **36**: 137
 SHEIKHO, LOUIS, publications of **22**: 91
 shekel, values of **24**: 207
 Sheshonq I, the Field of Abram in the list of **31**: 86-91; 290-295
 Shi'ites
 heterodoxies of — **28**: 1-80
 introduction of — into Egypt **27**: 221
 number of — sects **28**: 6-8
 Siam, making of palm-leaf manuscripts in **29**: 281-283
 Siamese language, analysis of tone accents of **31**: 282-289

- Siloam inscription **22**: 55-60
 Simeon Stylites, life of **35**: 103-198
 Simburgh bird, quest of **36**: 345
 sin, ideas of — in oldest Sanskrit texts **34**: 233-241
 Śivarāma's Commentary on the *Vā-savadattā* **24**: 57-63
 sleep of the soul in early Syriac Church **40**: 103-120
 SLEIMAN, MAR, publications of **22**: 87
 sniff-kiss in ancient India **28**: 120-134
 Society, Branches of, *see* Branches
 Société Asiatique, correspondence with **38**: 268-272, 310-317
 Soliman of Salerno in Genoa **38**: 179-181
 Sclomon's horse trade **26**: 104
 Soma
 — and Indra **36**: 256
 — sacrifice and Trita **38**: 297
 Somaliland, cinnamon, cassia and **40**: 260-270
 song and prayer in the Rig Veda **32**: 396
 Songs of Degrees, metrical form of **27**: 108-122
 Songs, a collection of Oriental Jewish **24**: 227-264
 Sothic cycle used by Egyptians **34**: 369-373
 sound-changes, chronology of certain Indo-Iranian **33**: 259-262
 springtime as the beginning of the world **36**: 277-278
śprśāti **27**: 414
 Sruvara **36**: 312
 star worship among Land Dyaks of Borneo **26**: 167
 starvation, suicide by — in India **21**: 150-159
 steeples, suggested origin of church — **30**: 154
 storm myths, universality of **36**: 310
 Strabo, comments of — upon Turkey **36**: 179
 stripping as symbol of mourning among Semites **21**: 24-25
 subordinate clause in Avestan syntax **22**: 144-176
 subtraction in the Mahābhārata **23**: 126
 suffixes, K- in Indo-Iranian **31**: 93-150, 296-342
 Sufi mysticism **36**: 345-346
 Sugi, campaign of Tiglath Pileser against **37**: 174
 Sukkoth, feast of **37**: 217-219
 Sukurru, chief deity of Suripak **32**: 11
 Sulu, loss of intervocalic *l* in **36**: 182
 Sumerian; Sumerians
 — and Akkadian accounts of beginnings **36**: 274-299
 — calendar, recent researches in **33**: 1-9
 — family laws **36**: 3
 — god of commerce **40**: 73-74
 Halevyian theory of — **25**: 51
 — incantation rites **21**: 1-22
 — inscriptions, animal DUN in **33**: 402-404
 — myth of beginning, original version of **36**: 286-287
 oath in — contract tablets **33**: 33-50
 original home of — in mountains **36**: 288-289
 — original of name Nimrod **40**: 201-203
 phonetic relations in — **39**: 265-279
 proper names, religious conceptions underlying **34**: 315-320
 striking phenomena of — **34**: 321-328
 tones in — **37**: 309-323

Sumerian; Sumerians
 — view of beginnings **36**: 122-135
 vocabulary of — **25**: 49-67
 — word list **21**: 20-21
 — words **25**: 67
 glossary of — **28**: 180-182; **30**: 70-71
 Sunnites in Egypt, close approximation of — to Shiites **27**: 218
 sūnyavāda and Vijñānavāda **31**: 1-29
 Suripak **33**: 1
 survivals in religious rites **21**: 33
 Susa **33**: 31
susīvi-s, a Vedic hapax **32**: 391-392
 śuṣṇa, foe of Indra **36**: 254
 sūtras of the Brahmins, dates of philosophical — **31**: 1-29
 suttee, Hindu and Peruvian **37**: 75
 Svarbhānu, legend of **26**: 190-192
 śvetadvīpa and śākadvīpa **39**: 209-242
 Sword, Japanese Book of the Ancient — **26**: 334-410
 sword judge in Japan **26**: 347
 swordsmiths in Japan **26**: 337
 symbolism among Land Dyaks **29**: 275-280
 Syria
 Genoese trade in **38**: 186
 road notes from North — and Cilicia **28**: 155-163
 Syriac
 a short physiognomic treatise in **39**: 289-294
 a — Valentinian hymn **38**: 1-33
 pronunciation of modern **25**: 76-78
 nouns and modifiers in **32**: 135-200
 — among modern Chaldeans and Nestorians **22**: 79-96
 — contributions to history of Greek philosophy **35**: 297-317
 sleep of the soul in early —

Church **40**: 103-120

Syrian
 proverbs **23**: 222-234
 songs **23**: 190-222
 stories **23**: 234-288

T

taboo
 — in harvest festivals of Land Dyaks **29**: 241, 247-249
 — trees in the Great Epic **30**: 348
 Tagalog
 difference between — and Bisayan **25**: 162-169
 expression of case by the verb in **27**: 183-189
 infixes in **27**: 142-146
 — ligature and analogies in other languages **29**: 227-231
 loss of intervocalic *l* in **36**: 183-184
 polysyllabic roots with P in **25**: 287-301
 provenance of — language **27**: 319
 — verb **36**: 396-414
 Takku **37**: 163-164
 Talmudic principle of Ashmakhta **40**: 126-133
 Tamil
 names of God in **39**: 285
 — political division in first two centuries of Christian Era **33**: 209-213
 Tammuz **21**: 188-190; **22**: 116
 a — fragment **33**: 345-348
 a hymn to — **30**: 94-100
 — and Osiris **35**: 213-223
 Tantrākhyāyika, notes on Book II **38**: 273-293
 Taurus River **36**: 170
 taxation in Japan under Tokugawa regime **30**: 279-289
 tearing of garments as symbol of mourning **21**: 23-39
 Tello **36**: 137
 temple archive at **27**: 150

- temple libraries, Babylonian **27**: 147-182
- Tent of Meeting **38**: 125-139
- tesserae, Palmyrene **27**: 397-399
- Tetragrammaton **31**: 277-278
- Teutonic mythology: parallel of — to story of Trita **38**: 299-301
- textual criticism of inscriptions **40**: 289-299
- Thraetaona **36**: 305, 312; **38**: 296
- Thrita **36**: 305; **38**: 296-299
- thunder as voice of Enlil **37**: 33
- Tibetan writing, origin of **38**: 34-46
- Tiglath Pileser I and his wars **37**: 169-185
- Tigre and Tigrina syntax, nouns and modifiers in **32**: 135-200
- time analysis of Sanskrit plays **21**: 88-108
- time in the Mahābhārata **23**: 350-357; **24**: 9-14
- Tirurai language, notes on phonology of **33**: 150-157
- Tishtrya **36**: 303, 313
- Tokugawa regime in Japan **30**: 259-300
- tone accents of the Siamese language, analysis of **31**: 282-289
- tones in Sumerian **37**: 309-323
- totemism, recent discussions of **25**: 146-161
- background of **38**: 145-159
- Tower of Babel **40**: 276-281
- trade
iron — in the Roman Empire **35**: 224-239
overland oriental — at Christian Era **35**: 31-41
- Tree of immortality. Persian **36**: 303
- trees and mountains in the Great Epic **30**: 347-374
- tri* **23**: 111-112
- Triad, Mazdean **36**: 302
- tribal deities, early Hebrew **38**: 136
- tribal organization of Land Dyaks **29**: 259-264
- Triu, god of Land Dyaks **29**: 257
- Troy as first centre of Eastern question **36**: 173
- Ts'in dynasty in China **40**: 175-177
- Tukulti Ninib, epitome of reign of **38**: 212-216
- Tuppa, god of Land Dyaks **26**: 170-175; **29**: 257
- Turkey
geographical foundation of world relation of **36**: 168-180
influence of — on discovery of America **36**: 174
- Turkish and Arabic, linguistic boundary between **36**: 170
- Turks, relations between Arabs and **37**: 153-161
- Tyre, pantheon of **22**: 115-117
- U**
- udāna* **22**: 249-308
- Ujjain, description of **23**: 307-317
- ulā* **22**: 25-26
- Umma **36**: 137-139
- uncleanness, Hindu ceremonial — **33**: 224
- Unilingual inscriptions K. 138 and K. 3232 translated **21**: 1-22
- University of Chicago Oriental Institute, first expedition of **40**: 282-285
- Upanishads
dative in **28**: 388-392
verbs of speaking in **28**: 392-406
sources of philosophy of **36**: 197-204
— and Vedantic idealism **36**: 198
- Urkagina, Babylonian calendar in reign of **31**: 251-271
- Ush, patesi of Umma **36**: 139
- Uttara-Rāma-charita, stage emendations in **34**: 428-433
- Uttu, Sumerian god of commerce **40**: 73-74

V

- vadhri* **27**: 414
Vahakan **36**: 312
 Valentinian hymn, Syriac **38**: 1-33
rarij **35**: 273-288
Varuṇa
 — and Indra **36**: 260
 — paralleled with Tezcatlipoca **37**: 76
Vāsavadattā, Śivarāma's Commentary on **24**: 57-63
Vaṭa-sāvitri-vrata, according to Hemādri and the Vratārka **21**: 53-66
 Vedantic idealism and the Upanishads **36**: 198
Veda; Vedic
 Kashmirian Atharva —, *see* Atharva Veda
 studies in the **35**: 240-246; **40**: 89-92
 Bloomfield's — concordance **29**: 284-298
 —, Sanskrit, Prakrit and Middle Indic **32**: 414-429; **33**: 145-149
 K-suffixes in the — **31**: 93-150, 296-342
 — dative, aspects of **28**: 360-406
 — dual **23**: 318-324; **30**: 155-185; **32**: 33-57; **35**: 16-30
 Prakritisms in **32**: 415
 — hapax *susīśvi-s* **32**: 391-392
 — variants **29**: 289-298
 — posterius *-pitram* **39**: 261-264
 relative chronology of — hymns **21**: 42-49
 the mind as wish-car in the — **39**: 280-282
 proposed index of ideas in — philosophy **36**: 203
vedhas **27**: 411
Vella, forgery of Giuseppe — **33**: 308-312

- Venice, commercial position of — in 11th century **38**: 177
 verbal forms in Hebrew, intransitive **24**: 145-204
Verethraghna **36**: 312
 vermilion line on woman's head, Hindu and Indian **37**: 72-73
 veterinary physician, Assyrian **37**: 331-332
Vijñānavāda and *Sūnyavāda* **31**: 1-29
 village government in Japan after 1600 **30**: 259-300
Vindhya, legend of — in Great Epic **30**: 359
 vineyard dances in Israel **36**: 324
Vohumana in the Gathas **21**: 67-87
 votive inscription of Asshurbanipal **38**: 167-175
Vourukasha, Sea of **36**: 302, 306
Vṛtra, foe of Indra **36**: 254
vyāna **22**: 249-308

W

- Ward, William Hayes, In Memoriam **36**: 233-241
 Warka, a pre-Sargonic inscription from **38**: 188-196
 Washington MS of Joshua **31**: 365-367
 water as primeval element
 in Babylonia **36**: 277-278
 in Genesis **36**: 296
 in Greece and Rig Veda **36**: 204
 wedding, description of Brahman — **22**: 322-328
 Weeks, feast of **37**: 215-217
 weight; weights
 an inscribed Hebrew — **24**: 206-208
 two new Hebrew — **24**: 384-387
 Phoenician bronze — **24**: 208-209
 Western Han Dynasty, development of **40**: 170-193
 wine in the pentateuchal codes **33**: 180-192

word lists, Assyrian and Sumerian
21: 20-22
writing, origin of Tibetan — 38:
34-46

X

Xenophon's account of fall of Nine-
veh 28: 99-107

Y

Yale Library of Ancient Inscriptions
39: 283-284
Yawan designating Seleucid empire
25: 302-311
years and cycles in the Mahābhā-
rata 24: 40-47
Yezidis 25: 178-181
Yima and Yimak 36: 315
Yoga in the Čaradā-tilaka Tantra
23: 76
Yoga technique in the Great Epic
23: 333-379
yojana 23: 148

Youth, Fountain of 26: 1-67, 411-
415

yuga 23: 145

Z

Zakar inscription 35: 353-364
Za-mal-mal, name of the deity 37:
328-329
Zauberlehrling, a demotic folk-tale
the basis of 39: 295-298
ziggurat, influence of 36: 289
upon early Christian churches 30:
151-154
upon Mohammedan minarets 30:
139-145
zodiacal sign book, Persian-Parsi
30: 336-342
Zoroaster
calendar of 28: 332
region of first convert 25: 283-184
Persian references to 28: 183-188
Zu 36: 310
Zuni turtle ceremony 26: 140-141

HEBREW WORDS

אב.....23: 162	יין.....33: 180-192
אכל.....27: 301-302	כתים.....25: 302 ff.
איים.....25: 302 ff.	לכן.....30: 343-346
בקע.....24: 207	נקבה.....23: 57
היונים.....25: 302 ff.	מהרה.....22: 61-63
זרה.....23: 55-60	שחרה.....23: 61-63
זנה אחרי.....23: 64-69	שרן.....22: 61-63
המשה חמשים.....26: 117-119	רושיה.....23: 35-44
יין.....25: 302 ff.	הפז.....40: 71-72

PHOENICIAN WORDS

שמה אדרם.....23: 163; 24: 213-214

II

INDEX OF AUTHORS

A

ABBOTT, JUSTIN E.

Indian Inscriptions on the Fire Temple at Baku **29**: 299-304

Malobā, the Marāṭhā Saint **40**: 300-306

AITKEN, W. E. M.

Notes on a Collation of some unpublished Inscriptions of Ashurnazirpal **32**: 130-134

ALBRIGHT, WILLIAM F.

The Home of Balaam **35**: 386-390

The Conclusion of Esarhaddon's Broken Prism **35**: 391-393

Some Unexplained Cuneiform Words **35**: 394-398

The Eighth Campaign of Sargon **36**: 226-232

The Babylonian Sage Ut-Napištim Ruqu **38**: 60-65

Ninib-Ninurta **38**: 197-201

Some Cruces in the Langdon Epic **39**: 66-90

Uttu, the Sumerian God of Commerce **40**: 73-74

Gilgames and Engidu, Mesopotamian genii of Fecundity **40**: 307-335

ALLEN, ALBERT HENRY

The Vaṭa-sāvitri-vrata according to Hemādri and the Vratārka **21**: 53-66

ARNOLD, EDWARD W.

The Rig Veda and the Atharva Veda **22**: 309-320

ARNOLD, WILLIAM R.

Solomon's Horse Trade **26**: 104

Additional Palmyrene Inscriptions in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York **28**: 105-112

ASAKAWA, K.

Notes on Village Government in Japan after 1600 **30**: 259-300; **31**: 151-216

B

BARRET, LEROY CARR

The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book I **26**: 197-295

Book II **30**: 187-258

Book III **32**: 343-390

Book IV **35**: 42-101

Book V **37**: 257-308

Book VII **40**: 145-169

BARTON, GEORGE AARON

- An Androgynous Babylonian Divinity **21**: 185-187
 The Genesis of the God Eshmun **21**: 188-190
 The Pantheon of Tyre **22**: 115-117
 Some Notes on the Blau Monuments **23**: 118-125
 Notes on an Archaic Inscription published by Father Scheil **22**: 126-128
 Interpretation of the Archaic Tablet in the E. A. Hoffman Collection **23**: 21-28
 Two New Hebrew Weights **24**: 384-387
 A New Collation of the Blau Monuments **24**: 388-389
 Three Objects in the Collection of Mr. Herbert Clark of Jerusalem **27**: 400-401
 On the Babylonian Origin of Plato's Nuptial Number **29**: 210-219
 On an Old Babylonian Letter addressed to Lushtamar **29**: 220-223
 Hilprecht's Fragment of the Babylonian Deluge Story **31**: 30-48
 The Babylonian Calendar in the Reigns of Lugalandu and Urkagina **31**: 251-271
 On the Etymology of Ishtar **31**: 355-358
 Recent Researches in the Sumerian Calendar **33**: 1-9
 The Names of Two Kings of Adab **33**: 295-296
 Kugler's Criterion for determining the Order of Months in the Earliest Babylonian Calendar **33**: 296-305
 Religious Conceptions underlying Sumerian Proper Names **34**: 315-320
 Tammuz and Osiris **35**: 213-223
 Ancient Babylonian Expressions of the Religious Spirit **37**: 23-42
 A Word with Reference to Emperor Worship in Babylonia **37**: 162-163
 Takku **37**: 163-164
 A New Babylonian Parallel to Genesis 3 **39**: 287

BELVALKAR, SHRIPAD KRISHNA

- Stage Emendations in the Uttara-Rāma-charita **34**: 428-433

BENDER, HAROLD H.

- On the Naturalistic Background of the 'Frog Hymn' Rig Veda 7. 103; **37**: 186-191
 Lithuanian *klonas*, *kluonas*, 'a place where something is laid out' **40**: 353-355

BLAKE, FRANK R.

- The Internal Passive in Semitic **22**: 45-54
 The Word **לָקַח** in the Siloam Inscription **22**: 55-60
 The So-called Intransitive Verbal Forms in Hebrew **24**: 145-204
 Difference between Tagalog and Bisayan **25**: 162-169
 Hebrew **לִשְׁכַּת הַדְּבָרִים** **26**: 117-119
 The Bisayan Dialects **26**: 120-136.
 Expression of Case by the Verb in Tagalog **27**: 183-189
 Contributions to Comparative Philippine Grammar **27**: 317-396; **28**: 199-253

- The Tagalog Ligature and Analogies in Other Languages **29**: 227-231
 Expression of the Ideas *to be* and *to have* in the Philippine Languages
30: 375-391
 Vocalic *r*, *l*, *m*, *n* in Semitic **31**: 217-222
 The Hebrew Metheg **32**: 78-102
 Comparative Syntax of the Combinations formed by the Noun and
 its Modifiers in Semitic **32**: 135-267
 The Expression of Indefinite Pronominal Ideas in Hebrew **34**: 115-228
 Studies in Semitic Grammar **35**: 375-385
 The Tagalog Verb **36**: 396-414
 A Bibliography of the Philippine Languages **40**: 25-70

BLOOMFIELD, MAURICE

- On the Relative Chronology of the Vedic Hymns **21**: 42-49
 On *raiṣama*, an Epithet of Indra **21**: 50-52
 Seven Emendations of the Text of the Rig Veda **27**: 72-78
 On certain Work in the Continuance of the Vedic Concordance **29**:
 286-298
 Some Rig Veda Repetitions **31**: 49-69
 On the Etymology and Meaning of the Sanskrit root *varj* **35**: 273-288
 On Recurring Psychic Motifs in Hindu Fiction, and the Laugh and
 Cry Motif **36**: 54-89
 The Mind as Wish-car in the Veda **39**: 280-282
 The Dohada or Craving of Pregnant Women: a Motif of Hindu
 Fiction **40**: 1-24
 Notes on the Divyāvadāna **40**: 336-352

BOLLING, GEORGE M.

- The Relation of the Vedic Forms of the Dual **23**: 318-324
 The Cāntikālpa of the Atharva Veda **33**: 265-278

BRADLEY, CORNELIUS BEACH

- Graphic Analysis of the Tone Accents of the Siamese Language **31**:
 282-289
 The Tone Accents of Two Chinese Dialects **35**: 199-206

BREASTED, JAMES HENRY

- The Field of Abram in a Geographical List of Sheshonq I **31**: 290-295
 The Place of the Near Orient in the Career of Man and the Task of
 the American Orientalist **39**: 159-184
 The First Expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of
 Chicago **40**: 282-285

BROWN, GEORGE WILLIAM

- Prāṇa and Apāna **39**: 104-112

BROWN, W. NORMAN

- The Pañcatantra in Modern Indian Folklore **39**: 1-5
 Proselyting the Asuras **39**: 100-103

BURLINGAME, EUGENE W.

- Sources of the Pali Commentaries **38**: 267-268

BUTTENWIESER, MOSES

Blood Revenge and Burial Rites in Ancient Israel **39**: 303-321

BYRNE, EUGENE H.

Easterners in Genoa **38**: 176-187

C**CARNOY, ALBERT J.**

Iranian Views of Origins in Connection with Similar Babylonian Beliefs
36: 300-320

The Iranian Gods of Healing **38**: 294-307

Pre-Aryan Origins of the Persian Perfect **39**: 117-121

CASANOWICZ, I. M.

The Collection of Oriental Antiquities in the United States National
Museum **23**: 44-47

Note on Some Usages of לִבְיָ **30**: 343-346

Jewish Amulets in the National Museum **36**: 154

Two Jewish Amulets in the United States National Museum **37**: 43-56

CLARK, WALTER EUGENE

Śākadvīpa and Śvetadvīpa **39**: 209-242

CLAY, ALBERT TOBIAS

The Origins and Real Name of NIN-IB **28**: 135-144

Name of the So-called Deity Za-mal-mal **37**: 328-329

CONANT, CARLOS EVERETT

The RGH Law in Philippine Languages **31**: 70-85

Monosyllabic Roots in Pampanga **31**: 389-394

Notes on the Phonology of the Tirurai Language **33**: 150-157

Notes on the Phonology of the Palau Language **35**: 1-15

Grammatical Notes on the Isinai Language **35**: 289-292

Indonesian *l* in Philippine Languages **36**: 181-196

CUNNINGHAM, FRANCIS A.

The Sothic Cycle Used by the Egyptians **34**: 369-373

D**DENNIS, JAMES TEACKLE**

An Early Egyptian Cylinder **22**: 76-77

A Rare Royal Cartouche **22**: 78

The Transliteration of Egyptian **24**: 275-281

DINSHAW, VICCAJI

Deccan Parallels to the Burj-Namah **35**: 293-296

DOMINIAN, LEON

The Geographical Foundations of Turkey's World Relation **36**: 168-180

The Site of Constantinople, a Fact of Historical Value **37**: 57-71

E**EDGEOTON, FRANKLIN**

The K-suffixes of Indo-Iranian **31**: 93-150, 296-342

Pañcadivyaḍhivāsa or Choosing a King by Divine Will **33**: 158-166

- The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book Six **34**: 374-411
 Sources of the Philosophy of the Upanishads **36**: 197-204
 A Hindiism in Sanskrit **38**: 206-207
 Notes, mainly Textual, on Tantrākhyāyika, Book II **38**: 273-293
 Hindiisms in Sanskrit, again; a Reply to Professor Fay **40**: 84-89
 Studies in the Veda **40**: 89-92
 Counter Rejoinder to Professor Fay **40**: 100-102
 Evil-Wit, No-Wit and Honest-Wit **40**: 271-275

EDWARDS, CLARA C.

- Two Popular Religious Poems in the Azerbaijani Dialect **39**: 113-116

EPSTEIN, J. N.

- Zum magischen Texte (*JAOS* 1912, p. 434) **33**: 279-280

EWING, ARTHUR H.

- The Hindu Conception of the Functions of Breath **22**: 249-308
 The Āradā-tilaka Tantra **23**: 65-76

F

FAY, EDWIN W.

- Studies of Sanskrit Words **27**: 402-417
 Indo-Iranian Word Studies **31**: 403-414
 The Vedic Hapax *susiśvi-s* **32**: 391-392
 Indo-Iranian Word Studies (ii) **34**: 329-343
 Notes on Indo-Iranian Words **39**: 206-207
 The Vedic Posterus *-pitvam*, Cover (Night) **39**: 261-264
 The Root *myakṣ* in the Rig Veda **39**: 285-286
 Phonetic and Lexical Notes **40**: 81-84
 Rejoinder to Professor Edgerton **40**: 93-100
 Indo-Iranica **40**: 121-125

FENOLLOSA, ERNEST F.

- Notes on the Japanese Lyric Drama **22**: 129-137

FERGUSON, JOHN C.

- The Abolition of Competitive Examinations in China **27**: 79-87

FOOTE, THEODORE C.

- The Two Unidentified Geographical Names in the Moabite Stone **22**: 61-63
 The Old Testament Expression *zanah akre* **23**: 64-69
 The Cherubim and the Ark **25**: 279-286
 The Metrical Form of the Songs of Degrees **27**: 108-122
 Visiting Sins upon the Innocent **28**: 309-316

FRIEDLÄNDER, ISRAEL

- The Heterodoxies of the Shiites in the Presentation of Ibn Ḥazm **28**: 1-80; **29**: 1-183

FURLANI, GIUSEPPE

- Contributions to the History of Greek Philosophy in the Orient,

- Syriac Texts IV: A Syriac Version of the λόγος κεφαλαιῶδης περὶ
 ψυχῆς πρὸς Τατρίαν of Gregory Thaumaturgus **35**: 297-317
 A Short Physiognomic Treatise in the Syriac Language **39**: 289-294

G

GAVIN, F.

- The Sleep of the Soul in the Early Syriac Church **40**: 103-120

GEHMAN, HENRY S.

- Adhi-brū* and *Adhi-vac* in the Veda **36**: 213-225

GOTTHEIL, RICHARD J. H.

- Seven Unpublished Palmyrene Inscriptions **21**: 109-111
 A Distinguished Family of Fatimid Cadis (al Nu'man) in the Tenth
 Century **27**: 217-296
 Al-Ḥasan ibn Ibrahim ibn Zulaḳ **23**: 254-270
 Mohammed 'Abdu, Late Mufti of Egypt **23**: 189-197
 The Origin and History of the Minaret **30**: 132-154
 A Door from the Madrasah of Barkuḳ **30**: 58-60
 Two Forged Antiques **33**: 306-312
 The Peshiṭta Text of Genesis XXXII: 25 **33**: 263-264

GRAY, LOUIS H.

- Contributions to Avestan Syntax, the Preterite Tenses of the Indica-
 tive **21**: 112-145
 The Religion of the Achaemenians according to their non-Iranian In-
 scriptions **21**: 177-184
 Contributions to Avestan Syntax, The Subordinate Clause **22**: 144-176
 Notes on the Old Persian Inscriptions of Behistun **23**: 56-64
 Śivarāma's Commentary on the *Vāsavadattā* **24**: 57-63
 The Bhartṛharinirveda of Harihara, now first translated from the
 Sanskrit and Prakrit **25**: 197-230
 The Viddhaśālabhañjikā of Rājaśekhara, now first translated from
 the Sanskrit and Prakrit **27**: 1-71
 On Certain Persian and Armenian Month-names as Influenced by the
 Avestan Calendar **28**: 331-344
 The Parsee-Persian Burj-Nāmah, or Book of Omens from the Moon
30: 336-342
 The Dūtāngada of Subhaṭa, now first translated from the Sanskrit
 and Prakrit **32**: 58-77
 Iranian Miscellanies **33**: 281-294

GRIERSON, GEORGE A.

- A few Notes on the First Half of the Twenty-fifth Volume of the
JAOS **25**: 339-340
 Note on Professor Prince's Article on the English-Romany Jargon in
 Volume **28**: 2 of the *JAOS* **29**: 232-235

GRIEVE, LUCIA C. G.

- Some Folk Stories of Rāmdās, the Last of the Sages **25**: 185-188
 The Dasara Festival at Satara, India **30**: 72-76

GRIMM, KARL J.

The Polychrome Lion recently found in Babylon **22**: 27-34

The Meaning and Etymology of the Word 𐤒𐤕𐤍 in the Old Testament **22**: 35-44

H

HAUPT, PAUL

The Beginning of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic **22**: 7-12

The Names of the Hebrew Vowels **22**: 13-17

The Introductory Lines of the Cuneiform Account of the Deluge **25**: 68-75

Xenophon's Account of the Fall of Nineveh **28**: 99-107

The Etymology of *cabinet* **28**: 108-111

The Name Istar **28**: 112-119

Some Difficult Passages in the Cuneiform Account of the Deluge **32**: 1-16

The Five Assyrian Stems *la'u* **32**: 17-20

Armageddon **34**: 412-427

Memorial Minute on Christopher Johnston **36**: 339-341

Askari *soldier* and Lascar *sailor* **36**: 417-418

Well and Field = Wife **36**: 418-420

Assyrian *lānu*, 'aspect'—Arabic *laun*, 'color' **37**: 253-255

Tones in Sumerian **37**: 309-323

Sumerian *gul-gik*, obstinate refusal **38**: 66-68

HIRTH, FREDERICK

The Mystery of Fu-Lin **30**: 1-31

Mr. Kingsmill and the Hiung-nu **30**: 32-45

Early Chinese Notices of East African Territories **30**: 46-57

The Mystery of Fu-lin **33**: 193-208

The Story of Chang K'ien, China's Pioneer in Western Asia **37**: 89-152

HOPKINS, EDWARD WASHBURN

On the Hindu Custom of Dying to Redress a Grievance **21**: 146-159

Memorial to Edward Elbridge Salisbury **22**: 1-6

Yoga Technique in the Great Epic **22**: 333-379

Notes on the Cvetāçvatara, the Buddhacarita, etc. **22**: 380-389

Remarks on the Form of Numbers, the Method of Using them, and the Numerical Categories found in the Mahābhārata **23**: 109-155

Phrases of Time and Age in the Sanskrit Epic **23**: 350-357

Epic Chronology **24**: 7-56

Further Notes on Automatic Conflagrations, the Hindu Method of Counting, and the Period of Pregnancy **24**: 390-393

The Universality of Religion **25**: 332-335

Two Notes on the Rig Veda **25**: 336-338

The Fountain of Youth **26**: 1-67, 411-415

Note on Professor Toy's Article on Message Sacrifice **26**: 416

The Buddhistic Rule against Eating Meat **27**: 455-464

- The Sniff-kiss in Ancient India **28**: 120-134
 Aspects of the Vedic Dative **28**: 360-406
 Mythological Aspect of Trees and Mountains in the Great Epic **30**: 347-374
 Sanskrit Kabāiras or Kubāiras and Greek Kabeiros **33**: 55-70
 Indra as a God of Fertility **36**: 242-268; **37**: 85-86
 Indic and Indian Religious Parallels **37**: 72-84
 The Origin of the Ablative Case **38**: 47-59
 The Background of Totemism **38**: 145-159
- HOYT, SARAH F.
 The Name of the Red Sea **32**: 115-119
 The Holy One in Psalm 16: 10 **32**: 120-125
 The Etymology of *religion* **32**: 126-129
- HUSSEY, MARY INDA
 A Supplement to Brūnnow's List of Cuneiform Ideographs **23**: 201-220
 Tablets from Drehem in the Public Library of Cleveland, Ohio **33**: 167-179
 A Conveyance of Land dated in the Reign of Ellil-bani **36**: 34-36
 A Galet of Eannatum **38**: 264-266
- HUXLEY, HENRY MINOR
 Syrian Songs, Proverbs and Stories; Collected, translated and annotated **23**: 175-288
- J
- JACKSON, A. V. WILLIAMS
 The Religion of the Achaemenian Kings. First Series. The Religion according to the Inscriptions **21**: 160-184
 Notes from India **22**: 321-332; **23**: 307-317
 The Great Behistun Rock and some Results of a Re-examination of the Old Persian Inscriptions on it **24**: 77-95
 On Sanskrit *l* = Avestan *d* **25**: 175
 Notes of a Journey to Persia **25**: 176-184
 The Magi in Marco Polo and the Cities in Persia from which they came to worship the Infant Christ **26**: 79-83
 Textual Notes on the Old Persian Inscriptions **27**: 190-194
 Some Persian References to Zoroaster and his Religion (Collaborated with Abraham Yohannan) **28**: 183-188
 On a Pahlavi Bowl Inscription deciphered by the late E. W. West **28**: 345-348
 The Allegory of *The Moths and the Flame*, translated from *Manṭiqaṭ Tair* of Farīdād-Dīn-'Attār **36**: 345-347
 The Etymology of some Words in the Old Persian Inscriptions **38**: 121-124
- JACOBI, HERMANN
 The Dates of the Philosophical Sūtras of the Brahmins **31**: 1-29
 On *Māyārāda* **33**: 51-54

JASTROW, MORRIS, JUNIOR

- Tearing of Garments as a Symbol of Mourning, with Special Reference to the Customs of the Ancient Hebrews **21**: 23-39
 The God Asshur **24**: 282-311
 Did the Babylonian Temples have Libraries? **27**: 147-182
 Another Fragment of the Etana Myth **30**: 101-132
 Wine in the Pentateuchal Codes **33**: 180-192
 Older and Later Elements in the Code of Hammurapi **36**: 1-33
 The Sumerian View of Beginnings **36**: 122-135
 In Memoriam William Hayes Ward **36**: 233-241
 Sumerian and Akkadian Views of Beginnings **36**: 274-299
 The Revolt in Arabia **36**: 420

JOHNSTON, CHRISTOPHER

- The Marburg Collection of Cypriote Antiquities **22**: 18-19
 The Fall of Nineveh **22**: 20-22
 Notes on Two Assyrian Words hitherto unexplained **22**: 23-26
 Šamaš-šum-ukin the eldest Son of Esarhaddon **25**: 79-83
 Erman's Egyptian Grammar **25**: 84-88
 Assyrian *qanunu* 'to coil'; and *arapu* 'to rebound' **29**: 224-226

K

KENT, ROLAND GEORGE

- The Etymology of Syriac *dastabirā* **31**: 359-364
 Classical Parallels to a Sanskrit Proverb **33**: 214-216
 The Chronology of Certain Indo-Iranian Sound Changes **33**: 259-262
 Note on Atharva Veda xx 127: 10 **34**: 310-312
 Studies in the Old Persian Inscriptions **35**: 351-352
 Cattle Tending and Agriculture in the Avesta **39**: 329-333
 The Textual Criticism of Inscriptions **40**: 289-299

KOHLER, K.

- The Sabbath and Festivals in Pre-exilic and Exilic Times **37**: 209-223

KOHUT, GEORGE ALEXANDER

- Some Oriental Analogues to the Ballad of King John and the Abbot of Canterbury **22**: 221-226
 Blood Test as a Proof of Kinship in Jewish Folk Lore **24**: 129-144

KOO, TELLY H.

- The Constitutional Development of the Western Han Dynasty **40**: 170-193

KRAELING, E. G. H.

- The Tower of Babel **40**: 276-281

KYLE, M. G.

- The Field of Abram in the Geographical List of Shoshenq I **31**: 86-91

L

LADD, GEORGE TRUMBULL

- A Death Ceremonial of the "Kapola Bania" Caste **22**: 227-236

LANGDON, STEPHEN H.

- The Name of the Ferryman in the Deluge Tablets **23**: 48-50
 Notes on the Annals of Assurbanipal **24**: 96-102
 Evidence for an Advance on Egypt by Sennacherib in the Campaign of 701 to 700 B. C. **24**: 265-274
 The Supposed Variant of AH. 82, 7-14, 1042; **26**: 98-103
 An Assyrian Grammatical Treatise on an Omen Tablet **27**: 88-103
 An Early Babylonian Tablet of Warnings for the King **28**: 145-154
 Critical Notes upon the Epic of Paradise **36**: 140-145

LANMAN, CHARLES R.

- Phrase-Words and Phrase Derivatives **40**: 194-198
 The Sanskrit Passive Stem **40**: 199
 India and the West, with a Plea for Team-Work among Scholars **40**: 225-247
 Bharata's Treatise on Dramaturgy **40**: 359-360

LATOUBETTE, K. S.

- American Scholarship and Chinese History **38**: 97-106

LAU, R. J.

- Supplement to the Old Babylonian Vocabularies **27**: 297-300
 Abel (בְּנֵי) in the Bible **27**: 301-302

LAUFEB, BERTHOLD

- Burkan **36**: 390-395; **37**: 167-168
 The Vigesimal and Decimal Systems in the Ainu Numerals **37**: 192-208
 Origin of Tibetan Writing **38**: 34-46
 Edouard Chavannes **38**: 202-205

LENT, FREDERICK

- The Life of St. Simeon Stylites. A Translation of the Syriac Text in Bedjan's *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, Vol. IV **35**: 103-198

LICHTI, OTTO

- Das Sendschreiben des Patriarchen Barschusan an den Catholicus der Armenier **32**: 268-342

LINFIELD, H. S.

- The Dependence of the Talmudic Principle of Asmakhta on Babylonian Law **40**: 126-133

LITTMANN, ENNO

- Arde'et: The Magic Book of the Disciples **25**: 1-48
 Specimens of the Popular Literature of Modern Abyssinia **23**: 51-55

LUCK, STEPHEN BLEECKER, JR.

- The Year's (1917) Work in Oriental Archaeology **36**: 348-354; **37**: 86-87

LUCKENBILL, DANIEL DAVID

- The Name Hammurabi **37**: 250-253

LUTZ, H. F.

- On the Reading of the Date-formula of the Fourth Year of Gimil-Sin **37**: 330-331

- The Helmet of Eannatum **38**: 68-69
 A Cassite Liver Omen Text **38**: 77-96
 The Oldest Monumental Evidence of a Dome Structure **39**: 122
 The DD- Emblem of Osiris **39**: 196-205
 A Loan Word in Egyptian **40**: 71
 The Hebrew Word for *to sew* **40**: 71-72
 A Remark on Egyptian *r* 'part' **40**: 359

LYBYER, ALBERT HOWE

- The Travels of Evliya Effendi **37**: 224-239

LYON, DAVID GORDON

- The Structure of the Hammurabi Code **25**: 248-265
 Notes on the Hammurabi Monument **25**: 266-278
 When and Where was the Code Hammurabi promulgated? **27**: 123-134
 The Seal Impressions on an Early Babylonian Contract **27**: 135-141

M

MCPHERSON, WILLIAM B.

- Gideon's Water Lappers **22**: 70-75

MACKINLAY, WILLIAM E. W.

- Some Minor Languages of Luzon **25**: 170-174

MARGOLIS, MAX L.

- Complete Induction for the Identification of the Vocabulary in the
 Greek Versions of the Old Testament with its Semitic Equivalents:
 Its Necessity and the Means of obtaining it **30**: 301-312
 The Washington MS of Joshua **31**: 365-367
 Additions to Field from the Lyons Codex of the Old Latin **33**: 254-258

MEEK, THEOPHILE JAMES

- A Votive Inscription of Assurbanipal **38**: 167-175

MERCER, SAMUEL A. B.

- The Oath in Cuneiform Inscriptions **33**: 33-50
 The Malediction in Cuneiform Inscriptions **34**: 282-309
 Emperor-Worship in Babylonia **36**: 360-380
 Emperor-Worship in Babylonia, a Reply **37**: 331

METHENY, J. RENWICK

- Road Notes from Cilicia and North Syria **28**: 155-163

MICHELSON, TRUMAN

- Linguistic Archaisms of the Rāmāyaṇa **25**: 89-145
 Additions to Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance* **29**: 284-285
 The Interrelation of the Dialects of the Fourteen Edicts of Asoka **31**:
 223-250
 Vedic, Sanskrit and Middle Indic **33**: 145-149
 Asokan Notes **36**: 205-212

MILLS, LAWRENCE H.

- Vohumanah in the Gathas **21**: 67-87
 The Pahlavi Text of Yasna ix 49-103 **23**: 1-18

The Pahlavi Text of Yasna ix 49-103, for the First Time critically Translated **24**: 64-76

The Pahlavi Text of Yasna xvii, edited with all the MSS Collated **26**: 68-78

MONTGOMERY, JAMES ALAN

Report on an Aramaic Boundary Inscription in Cilicia **23**: 164-167

An Aramaic Ostrakon from Nippur and the Greek Obolos **29**: 204-209

Some Early Amulets from Palestine **31**: 272-281

A Magical Bowl Text and the Original Script of the Manichaeans **32**: 434-438

Postage Stamps of the Hijaz **37**: 87-88

The words *law* and *witness* in the South Arabic **37**: 164-165

Babylonian *niš*, oath, in West Semitic **37**: 329-330

A Jewish Mortuary Amulet **38**: 140-141

MOORE, GEORGE FOOT

Conjectanea Talmudica: Notes on Rev **13**: 18; Mt **23**: 35 f., **28**: 1;

2 Cor **2**: 14-16; Jub **34**: 4, 7, 7: 4 **26**: 315-333

MOORE, JUSTIN HARTLEY

Metrical Analysis of the Pāli Iti-vuttaka, a Collection of Discourses of Buddha **23**: 317-330

MORGENSTERN, JULIAN

The Bones of the Paschal Lamb **36**: 146-153

The Etymological History of the three Hebrew synonyms for *to dance*, HGG HLL and KRR, and their Cultural Significance **36**: 321-332

The Tent of Meeting **38**: 125-139

MORRIS, MARGARETTA (*see also* Mrs. S. B. SCOTT)

The Economic Study of Religion **24**: 394-426

The Influence of War and of Agriculture upon the Religion of Kay-
anas and Sea Dyaks of Borneo **25**: 231-247

Harvest Gods of the Land Dyaks of Borneo **26**: 165-175

Race and Custom in the Malay Archipelago **27**: 195-216

MÜLLER, W. MAX

Remarks on the Carthaginian Deity **32**: 429-433

MUMFORD, ETHEL WATTS

The Japanese Book of the Ancient Sword **26**: 334-410

N

NEGELEIN, JULIUS VON

Atharvaprāyaścittāni. Text mit Anmerkungen **33**: 71-144, 217-253
Vorwort und Einleitung **34**: 229-277

NEWBOLD, WILLIAM ROMAINÉ

A Syriac Valentinian Hymn **38**: 1-33

NIES, JAMES B.

A Net Cylinder of Entemena **36**: 137-139

The Reading of GIŠ-ÚH^m 37: 255-256

A Pre-Sargonic Inscription on Limestone from Warka 38: 188-196

Origin of *maš* or *bar* and the Development of its Meanings 39: 91-99

O

OEFELÉ, FELIX VON

Old Babylonian Linen-Weaving 36: 415

Assyrian *kalmat*, Arabic *kaemlet* 36: 416

Babylonian Titles of Medical Text-Books 37: 250

The Assyrian Veterinary Physician 37: 331-332

A Babylonian Representation of a Jumping Mouse 38: 140

A Babylonian Belt Buckle 38: 308-309

Ascalabotes fascicularis in Old Babylonian Medicine 39: 284-285

OERTEL, HANNS

Contributions from the *Jāiminiya Brāhmaṇa* to the History of Brāhmaṇa Literature 23: 325-349; 26: 176-196; 28: 81-98

Additions to the Fifth Series of Contributions from the *Jāiminiya Brāhmaṇa* 26: 306-314

OGDEN, CHARLES J.

Lexicographical and Grammatical Notes on the Svapnavāsavadatta of Bhāsa 35: 269-272

Note on Kathāsaritsāgara 9. 7 37: 328

OGDEN, ELLEN SETON

The Text of an Archaic Tablet in the E. A. Hoffman Collection 23: 19-20

A Conjectural Interpretation of Cuneiform Texts, Vol. V, 81—7—27, 49 and 50 32: 103-114

Some Notes on the so-called Hieroglyphic Tablet 33: 16-23

OLIPHANT, SAMUEL GRANT

The Vedic Dual 30: 155-185; 32: 33-57; 35: 16-30

Sanskrit *dhēnā* = Avestan *daēnā* = Lithuanian *dainā* 32: 393-413

OLMSTED, A. T.

The Assyrian Chronicle 34: 344-368

Tiglath Pileser I and his Wars 37: 169-185

The Calculated Frightfulness of Asshur Nasir Apal 38: 209-263

The British General Staff Maps 39: 58-59

OUSSANI, GABRIEL

The Modern Chaldaeans and Nestorians and the Study of Syriac among them 22: 79-96

The Arabic Dialect of Baghdad 22: 97-114

P

PARISOT, J.

A Collection of Oriental Jewish Songs 24: 227-264

PETERS, JOHN PUNNETT

Notes on Recent Theories of the Origin of the Alphabet 22: 177-200

The Nippur Library **26**: 145-164

The Cock **33**: 363-396

The Home of the Semites **39**: 243-260

PETERSEN, WALTER

Vedic, Sanskrit and Prakrit **32**: 414-428

PHILLIPS, WILLIAM

The Need of an American School of Living Oriental Languages **39**: 185-188

POPENOE, PAUL

The Propagation of the Date Palm: Materials for a Lexicographical Study in Arabic **35**: 207-212

PRICE, IRA MAURICE

The Animal DUN in the Sumerian Inscriptions **33**: 402-404

PRINCE, J. DYNELEY

The Unilingual Inscriptions K. 138 and K. 3232 translated **21**: 1-22

The Modern Pronunciation of Coptic in the Mass **23**: 289-306

The Hymn to Belit, K. 257 **24**: 103-128

The Vocabulary of Sumerian **25**: 49-67

The Pierpont Morgan Babylonian Axe-head **26**: 93-97

The English-Romany Jargon of the American Roads **28**: 271-308

A Hymn to Nergal **28**: 168-182

A Hymn to Tammuz **30**: 94-100

A Hymn to the Goddess Kir-gi-lu (Cuneiform Texts from the British Museum XV Plate 23) with Translation and Commentary **30**: 325-335

A Divine Lament (CT. 35 Plates 24-25) **31**: 395-402

A Political Hymn to Shamash **33**: 10-15

A Tammuz Fragment **33**: 345-348

Striking Phenomena of Sumerian **34**: 321-328

The So-called Epic of Paradise **36**: 90-114

Further Notes on the So-called Epic of Paradise **36**: 269-273

Phonetic Relations in Sumerian **39**: 265-279

A Possible Sumerian Original of the Name Nimrod **40**: 201-203

Q

QUACKENBOS, G. P.

The Mayūrāṣṭaka, an Unedited Sanskrit Poem by Mayūra **31**: 343-354

R

REICHLING, GERALD ALSTON

A Demotic Folktale the Basis of Goethe's *Der Zauberlehrling* **39**: 295-298

REMY, ARTHUR F. J.

The Influence of Persian Literature upon the German Poet Platen **21**: 40-41

RYDER, ARTHUR W.

Note on *brhāccchandās* **23**: 77-78

Kṛṣṇanātha's Commentary on the Bengal Recension of the *Çakuntalā* **23**: 79-83

Notes on the *Mṛcchakatika* **27**: 418-454

S

SANDERS, CHARLES S.

Jupiter *Dolichenus* **23**: 84-92

SAUNDERS, VIRGINIA

Portrait Painting as a Dramatic Device in Sanskrit Plays **39**: 299-302

SCHAPIRO, ISRAEL

The Hebrew Collections of the Library of Congress **36**: 355-359

SCHELTEMA, J. F.

Arabs and Turks **37**: 153-161

SCHOFF, WILFRED H.

Tamil Political Divisions in the First Two Centuries of the Christian Era **33**: 209-213

The Name of the Erythraean Sea **33**: 349-362

Some Aspects of the Overland Oriental Trade at the Christian Era **35**: 31-41

The Eastern Iron Trade of the Roman Empire **35**: 224-239

Navigation to the Far East under the Roman Empire **37**: 240-249

Cinnamon, Cassia and Somaliland **40**: 260-270

SCHUYLER, MONTGOMERY, JR.

The Editions and Translations of *Çakuntalā* **22**: 237-248

Bibliography of Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* and *Vikramorvaçī* **23**: 93-101

A Bibliography of the Plays of Bhavabhūti and of Kṛṣṇamiśra **25**: 189-196

Notes on the Making of Palm-leaf Manuscripts in Siam **29**: 281-283

SCOTT, MRS. SAMUEL BRYAN (*see also* MARGARETTA MORRIS)

Harvest Festivals of the Land Dyaks **29**: 236-280

Mohammedanism in Borneo: Notes for a Study of the Local Modifications of Islam and the Extent of its Influence on the Native Tribes **33**: 313-344

SEIDEL, M.

U as an old Plural Ending of the Hebrew Noun **37**: 165-167

SEIPLE, WILLIAM G.

Polysyllabic Roots with Initial P in Tagalog **25**: 287-301

SPOER, HANS H.

Notes on Bloody Sacrifices in Palestine **25**: 312-313; **27**: 104

Palmyrene Inscriptions found at Palmyra in April 1904 **25**: 314-319

Palmyrene Tesseræ **26**: 113-116

Description of the Case of a Roll of a Samaritan Pentateuch **27**: 105-107

Notes on some Palmyrene Tesserae **27**: 397-399

Some Hebrew and Phoenician Inscriptions **28**: 355-359

Two Unpublished Palmyrene Inscriptions **29**: 203

STRATTON, ALFRED WILLIAM

A Dated Gandhāra Figure **24**: 1-6

SUKTHANKAR, V. S.

An Assyrian Tablet found in Bombay **40**: 142-144

Studies in Bhāṣa **40**: 248-259

SVERDEUP, GEORGE, JR.

A Letter from the Mahdi Muhammad Ahmad to General C. G. Gordon
31: 368-388

T

THAYER, GORDON W.

The John G. White Collection, Cleveland Public Library **36**: 421-422

Julien's Manuscript Dictionary of the Manchu Language **40**: 140-141

TOLMAN, H. C.

A Possible Restoration from a Middle Persian Source of the Answer
of Jesus to Pilate's Inquiry 'What is Truth?' **39**: 55-57

An erroneous Etymology of New Persian *pādšāh* in Relation to the
pr. n. Παρσιδης **40**: 200-201

TORREY, CHARLES C.

A Phoenician Royal Inscription **23**: 156-173

Semitic Epigraphical Notes **24**: 205-226

Yawan and *Hellas* as Designations of the Seleucid Empire **25**: 302-311

Four Palmyrene Epitaphs **25**: 320-323

Two Letters from Professor Porter in Regard to the Bod-'Astart
Stones in Beirut **25**: 324-331

The Story of a Friend in Need: The Arabic Text edited from the
Vienna Manuscript of el-Ghuzuli and Translated for the First Time
26: 296-305

Epigraphic Notes **28**: 349-354

Notes on a Few Inscriptions **29**: 192-202

The Zakar and Kalamu Inscriptions **35**: 353-369

An Aramaic Inscription from Cilicia in the Museum of Yale Uni-
versity **35**: 370-374

The Outlook for American Oriental Studies **38**: 107-120

The Mosaic Inscription at 'Ain Dūk **40**: 141-142

TOY, CRAWFORD H.

Creator Gods **23**: 29-37

Remarks on the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira **23**: 38-43

Recent Discussions of Totemism **25**: 146-161

An Early Form of Animal Sacrifice **26**: 137-144

V

VANDERBURGH, FREDERICK A.

A Hymn to Bel **29**: 184-191

Babylonian Legends, BM Tablets 87535, 93828 and 87521 CT XV

Plates 1-6 **32**: 21-32

A Hymn to Bel (Tablet 29623, CT XV, Plates 12 and 13) **30**: 61-71

A Hymn to Mullil **30**: 313-324

Three Babylonian Tablets, Prince Collection, Columbia University
33: 24-32

A Business Letter of Anu-šar-ušur **36**: 333-336

W

WARREN, WILLIAM FAIRFIELD

Babylonian and Pre-Babylonian Cosmology **22**: 138-144

Problems still Unsolved in Indo-Aryan Cosmology **26**: 84-92

Where was Śākadvīpa in the Mythical World-view of India? **40**:
356-358

WATERMAN, LEROY

The Curse in the Paradise Epic **39**: 322-328

WEST, EDWARD W.

Decipherment of Pahlavi Bowl Inscription **28**: 345-348

A Transliteration and Translation of the Pahlavi Treatise 'Wonders
of Sagastan' **36**: 115-121

WESTON, SYDNEY ADAMS

The *Kitāb Masālik an-Nazar of Sa'id ibn Hasan* of Alexandria. Edited
for the First Time and Translated with Introduction and Notes **24**:
312-383

WOLFENSON, LOUIS B.

The Infixes *la*, *li*, *lo* in Tagalog **27**: 142-146

The Pi'el in Hebrew **27**: 303-316

WOODS, JAMES HAUGHTON

The Yoga Sūtras of Patañjali as illustrated by the Comment entitled
'The Jewel's Lustre,' or Maṇiprabhā **34**: 1-114

WORRELL, WILLIAM H.

The Consonants Z and Ṣ in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic **34**: 278-281

A Coptic Ostrakon **34**: 313-314

Ink, Oil and Mirror Gazing Ceremonies in Modern Egypt **36**: 37-53

The Demon of Noonday and Some Related Ideas **38**: 160-166

An Account of Schools for Living Oriental Languages established in
Europe **39**: 189-195

Y

YEHUDA, E. BEN

Three Notes in Hebrew Lexicography **37**: 324-327

YLVISAKER, S. C.

Dialectic Differences between Assyrian and Babylonian, and some
Problems they present **33**: 397-401

YOHANNAN, ABRAHAM

A Manuscript of Gul ū Naurūz, a Seventeenth Century Persian Romance in the Library of Columbia University **23**: 102-107

Some Remarks regarding the Pronunciation of Modern Syriac **25**: 76-78

Some Persian references to Zoroaster and his Religion (Collaborated with A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON) **28**: 183-188

A Manuscript of the Manafi' al-Haiawan in the Library of Mr. J. P. Morgan **36**: 381-389

III

TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS, AND ILLUSTRATIONS

ORIGINAL TEXTS PUBLISHED IN THE JOURNAL

ARABIC

- Syrian Songs, Proverbs and Stories **23**: 190-288
Sa'id ibn Hasan of Alexandria's *Kitab Masalik an Nazar* **24**: 322-359
El Ghuzuli: The Story of a Friend in Need **26**: 297-302
Letter of Mahdi Muhammad Ahmad to Gen. C. C. Gordon **31**: 370-375

ARAMAIC

- Boundary Inscription found in Cilicia by J. R. Metheny **28**: 164-167
An Ostrakon from Nippur **29**: 204-209
Early Amulets from Palestine **31**: 273, 280-281
Zakar Inscription **35**: 354-355
An Inscription from Cilicia in Yale University **35**: 372
The Mosaic Inscription at 'Ain Duk **40**: 141-142

ETHIOPIA

- Arde'et **25**: 7-25

INDIC

- Kashmirian Atharva Veda Book I **26**: 197-295
Book II **30**: 187-258
Book III **32**: 343-390
Book IV **35**: 42-101
Book V **37**: 257-308
Book VI **34**: 374-411
Book VII **40**: 145-169
Attarvaprāyaścittāni **33**: 71-144
Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa 1. 19-20 **23**: 328-330
1. 51-65 **23**: 331-349
1. 74-76 **23**: 326-328
The Cāntikalpa of the Atharva Veda **33**: 265-278
Mayūraṣṭaka **31**: 343-354
Indian Inscription on the Fire Altar at Baku **29**: 300

JEWISH

- Oriental Jewish Songs **24**: 227-259

MANDAIC

- A Magical Bowl Text **32**: 435

NABATAEAN

- Inscription discovered by G. Sverdrup at Petra **28**: 350

PALMYRENE

- Seven unpublished inscriptions **21**: 109-111
 Three Inscriptions found at Palmyra in April 1904 **25**: 314-318
 Four Epitaphs brought to America in 1902 **25**: 320-323
 Eight Inscriptions in Metropolitan Museum, N. Y. **26**: 105-112
 Seven Tesserae **26**: 113-116
 Two Inscriptions read by Dr. Hans H. Spoer **29**: 203

PERSIAN

- Yasna ix: 49-103; **23**: 1-18
 Yasna xvii; **26**: 68-78
 The Burj-Nāmah **30**: 340
 Wonders of Sagastān **36**: 118-121

PHOENICIAN

- The Bod-'Astart Inscription **23**: 161
 Inscription upon a Votive Statuette **28**: 351-354
 A Phoenician Seal **28**: 354, 359

SYRIAC

- Das Sendschreiben des Patriarchen Barschusan **32**: 277-305
 A Syriac Version of the λόγος κεφαλαιῶδης περὶ ψυχῆς πρὸς Τατιάρον of Gregory Thaumaturgus **35**: 297-317
 A Valentinian Hymn **38**: 4
 A Short Physiognomic Treatise **39**: 290

TRANSLATIONS OF TEXTS PUBLISHED IN THE JOURNAL

ARABIC

- Syrian Songs, Proverbs and Stories **23**: 190-288
 Sa'id ibn Hasan's *Kitab Masalik an Nazar* **24**: 359-383
 El Ghuzuli: The Story of a Friend in Need **26**: 303-305
 Letter of Mahdi Muhammad Ahmad to Gen. C. G. Gordon **31**: 375-388
 Ibn Hazm: *Milal wa'n Nihal* **28**: 28-80
 Farid ad-Din 'Attar; *Moths and the Flames* **36**: 346-347

ARAMAIC

- Boundary Inscription found in Cilicia **23**: 164-167
 An Ostrakon from Nippur **29**: 209
 Early Amulets from Palestine **31**: 274, 281
 The Zakar Inscription **35**: 356
 An Inscription from Cilicia **35**: 372
 The Mosaic Inscription at 'Ain Duk **40**: 141-142
 The Kalamu Inscription **35**: 364-365

ETHIOPIC

- Arde'et **25**: 26-48

INDIC

- The Bhartṛharinirveda of Harihara **25**: 197-230
 The Viddhaśālabhaṅjikā of Rājasekhara **27**: 1-72
 Indian Inscription on the Fire Altar at Baku **29**: 301
 The Mayūrāṣṭaka **31**: 343-354
 The Dūtāṅgada of Subhaṭa **32**: 63-77
 Yoga Sūtra: Translation of The Jewel's Lustre **34**: 1-114

JAPANESE

- The Book of the Ancient Sword **26**: 337-410

MANDAIC

- A Magical Bowl Text **32**: 435

NABATAEAN

- Nabataean Inscription discovered by G. Sverdrup at Petra **28**: 350

PALMYRENE

- Seven unpublished Inscriptions **21**: 109-111
 Three Inscriptions found at Palmyra April 1904 **25**: 314-319
 Four Epitaphs brought to America 1902 **25**: 320-323
 Eight Inscriptions in the Metropolitan Museum, N. Y. **26**: 105-112
 Seven Tesserae **28**: 113-116
 Two Inscriptions read by Dr. Hans H. Spoer **29**: 203

PERSIAN

- Yasna 9. 49-103; **24**: 64-77
 Wonders of Sagastan **36**: 118-121
 Burj-Nāmāh **30**: 341-342

PHOENICIAN

- The Bod 'Astart Inscription **23**: 161
 Inscription upon a Votive Statuette **28**: 353
 A Phoenician Seal **28**: 354

SYRIAC

- Das Sendschreiben des Patriarchen Barschusan (tr. into German) **32**: 306-342
 A Valentinian Hymn **38**: 4
 A Short Physiognomic Treatise **39**: 290-291
 Life of Simeon Stylites in Bedjan's *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, Vol. IV **35**: 111-198

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE JOURNAL

- Phoenician royal Inscription..... facing **23**: 156
 The River Sipra at Ujjain..... " **23**: 307
 The Rudra-Sagara Lake and the Temple of Hari-siddhi
 at Ujjain..... " **23**: 308

Modern Palace and Court of Justice at Ujjain.....	facing	23: 308
A Bathing Place on the Bank of the Sipra.....	"	23: 310
The old astronomical Observatory at Ujjain.....	"	23: 310
Entrance to Bhartṛhari's Cave at Ujjain.....	"	23: 312
Street Scene near the Temple of Krishna at Ujjain...	"	23: 312
Stones from Temple of Eshmun.....	"	24: 221
Four Palmyrene Busts.....	"	25: 321. 323
Seven Palmyrene Busts with Inscriptions.....	"	26: 105. 112
Seals on an early Babylonian Contract.....	"	27: 136-137
The Kerman Inscription of King Darius (three plates),	"	27: 190. 194
Palmyrene Tesseræ.....	"	27: 397
Phoenician Votive Statuette.....	"	28: 352
Hebrew Ossuaries and a Phoenician Seal.....	"	28: 355
Nabataean Inscription discovered in Petra.....	"	29: 200
A Door from the Madrasah of Barkuk.....	"	30: 58
Tablet containing Fragment of the Etana Myth.....	"	30: 131
Early Amulets from Palestine.....	"	31: 272. 280
An Aramaic Inscription from Cilicia.....	"	35: 370

IV

INDEX OF PASSAGES

BIBLICAL AND JEWISH LITERATURE

ACTS		III: 17.....22: 57
II: 29-31.....32: 120		V: 25.....22: 68
AMOS		VI: 13.....36: 232
II: 1.....36: 149		36.....30: 307
11-12.....33: 185		IX: 21.....33: 365
III: 11.....30: 310		XI: 15.....21: 4
V: 25.....38: 133		XIV: 1-3.....38: 128
VIII: 5.....37: 211		XV: .....38: 128
10.....36: 323		XVI: 14.....27: 301
B. MES.		XXI: 14.....27: 301
106b.....36: 156		XXI: 11.....22: 67
BARA KAMO		XXV: 6.....36: 418
82b.....33: 371		XXXII: 1-21....24: 265-274
BEKHOROTH		XXXVI: 22-23....21: 180
8b-9a.....22: 221		
BERAKHOTH		II. CORINTHIANS
2a.....37: 52		II: 14-16....26: 329-330
7a.....36: 160		
17a.....36: 164		DANIEL
20a.....36: 166		IV: 14.....36: 167
45a.....36: 165		V: 9.....36: 229
56b.....36: 166		21.....36: 167
60b.....33: 370		25.....24: 208
CANTICLES		VI: 23...36: 155; 37: 47
IV: 6.....37: 52		VIII: 21.....25: 305, 306
12. 15....39: 70		X: 20.....25: 306
I. CHRONICLES		XI: 2.....25: 306
I: 32.....37: 177		10.....30: 309
II: 55.....37: 165		
V: 16.....22: 61		DEUTERONOMY
25.....22: 67		III: 10.....22: 62
VI: 11.....37: 165		IV: 39.....36: 159
VIII: 25.....37: 166		43.....23: 62
XI: 15.....28: 110		V: 9.....28: 315
II. CHRONICLES		VI: 4-9..36: 155; 37: 44
I: 16-18....26: 104		VII: 15.....36: 155;
		37: 44, 48
		IX: 27.....24: 363
		X: 17.....21: 165
		XII: 23.....24: 129
		XIV: 2.....22: 68

XIV: 26.....33: 182
 XVI: 1.....36: 297;
 37: 214-217
 13.....37: 218
 XVIII: 18.....24: 362
 XX: 6.....36: 328
 XXI: 1-9.....39: 310
 11-12....39: 306-308
 XXIII: 5.....35: 387
 19.....22: 68
 XXIV: 16.....28: 309-311
 XXVII: 15.....24: 371
 25.....39: 315
 XXVIII: 10.....37: 44, 48
 12.....36: 155
 30.....36: 328
 XXXI: 8.....36: 167
 16.....22: 66
 XXXII: 24...37: 55; 38: 162
 42.....34: 421
 XXXIII: 2.....24: 363

ECCLESIASTES

X: 19.....33: 190
 XII: 1.....36: 418-428;
 39: 70

ECCLESIASTICUS

XXIV: 15.....40: 265

EPHESIANS

V: 14.....31: 277
 18.....33: 190

ESTHER

III: 13.....21: 166
 IV:21: 23

EXODUS

III: 5.....21: 28
 14.....36: 159
 IV: 16.....36: 368
 22-26....37: 215
 VII: 17-21....32: 118
 XII:36: 146-153
 2.....36: 297
 37.....37: 218
 XIII: 1-10, 11-16
 37: 214

XIII: 4.....36: 297
 6.....36: 323-328
 19.....36: 148
 20.....37: 218
 21...37: 49; 38: 132
 XIV: 19-21....

 36: 155; 37: 43-48
 21.....32: 116
 XV: 10.....32: 116
 11.....21: 165;
 32: 121; 37: 44
 20.....36: 323
 25.....37: 210
 26.....36: 155

XVII: 15.....37: 330

XVIII: 11.....21: 165

XIX: 1.....37: 216

XX: 5.....28: 315

XXI: 31.....28: 311

XXII: 8-10....36: 368

 18...36: 155; 37: 56

XXIII: 15.....36: 297;
 37: 214

 16.....37: 217

 20.....38: 132

XXIV: 1.....37: 47

 16.....25: 283

XXV: 5.....37: 44

 32.....22: 23, 40

XXVIII: 36.....36: 164

XXIX: 42.....38: 134

 45.....38: 125

XXX: 23-24....40: 264

XXXI: 13.....37: 213

 17.....37: 213

XXXII: 6.....36: 325

XXXIII: 7-11....38: 131-132

 12-20....38: 125-127

XXXIV: 6-7....

 36: 164; 37: 223

 7.....28: 315

 15-16....22: 65

 18...36: 297; 37: 214

 21.....37: 210

 22.....37: 217

XXXVIII: 26.....24: 207

XL: 34.....38: 135

EZEKIEL

I:	.....25:	281
I:	1-11.....21:	180
	8.....37:	166
VIII:	14.....21:	188; 30: 97
X:	1.....37:	220
	5.....25:	282
XII:	22.....28:	313
XVI:	26.....22:	66
XVIII:	2-3.....28:	313
XX:	20.....37:	213
XXI:	26.....36:	40
XXIII:	30.....22:	66
XXIV:	7-8.....39:	313-314
XXVII:	19.....40:	263
XXVIII:	14-16.....25:	282
XXIX:	19.....36:	417
XXXI:	17.....27:	166
XXXVII:	.....36:	148
	9.....25:	282
XL:	1.....36:	297-327;
	37:	220, 222
XLI:	18.....25:	282
XLIV:	21.....33:	184
XLV:	17.....37:	213
	18-25.....37:	220
	20.....37:	221
	21.....37:	215
	23.....37:	217
XLVI:	1-3.....37:	213

EZRA

IV:	5.....36:	417
IX:	3.5.....21:	24

GENESIS

I:	1-5.....36:	159
	3.....37:	41
	28.....37:	41
II:	5-6.....36:	296
	10.....36:	155
	18.24.....37:	41
III:	7.....21:	26
	24.....25:	280
IV:	1.....37:	40
	10-11.....39:	304
	15.....30:	345

IV:	22.....36:	166
VI:	5.....25:	74
	8.....37:	56
	16.....31:	34
VII:	11.....22:	10
IX:	1.....36:	224
	4...24:	129; 39: 315
	20-27.....33:	180
X:	8.....40:	201
XI:	1-9.....40:	276-281
XIV:	14.....32:	12
	18.....27:	399
XV:	9.....33:	364
XVI:	14.....32:	17
XVII:	20.....24:	315
XIX:	31-38.....33:	180
XXII:	2.....24:	369
XXIV:	22.....24:	207
XXV:	2.....37:	177
	27.....22:	62
XXVII:	25.....33:	183
	37.....36:	228
XXVIII:	22.....36:	228
XXIX:	27.....37:	212
XXX:	15.....30:	345
	18.....36:	417
XXXII:	25.....33:	263-264
	32.....36:	166
XXXIII:	17.....37:	218
XXXV:	8.....34:	418
XXXVII:	3.....36:	418
	26.....39:	318
	31.....26:	333
	34.....21:	23
	35.....30:	303
XXXVIII:	14.....21:	38
XLII:	16.....30:	308
XLIV:	29,31.....30:	310
XLVI:	4.....37:	49
XLVIII:	16.....36:	166
XLIX:	8-11.....37:	55
	18...36:	158; 37: 43
	22.....36:	155-156
L:	11.....22:	62;
	37:	301
	1-14,25.36:	148

GIFTIN		XXXII: 13.....28: 313	
57a.....33:	370	XXXIV: 14.....21: 4	
57b.....24:	132	XXXVII: 1.....21: 23	
		16.....25: 280	
HAGGITH		XL: 26.....28: 118	
3b.....37:	52	XLII: 1.....24: 369	
HAGGAI		XLIII: 2.....36: 167	
II: 11.....33:	185	XLIV: 28.....21: 160, 180	
HEBREWS		XLV: 1-4.....21: 180	
IX: .....37:	223	XLV: 2-4.....21: 160	
HOSEA		XLV: 7.....21: 166	
II: 13.....37:	211	XLVII: 13.....37: 165	
16.....30:	346	LVIII: 13.....37: 213	
III: 2.....36:	230	LX: 11.....30: 303	
VIII: 7.....22:	26	LXI: 7.....30: 344	
12.....37:	166	LXV: 6.....28: 316	
IX: 1.....22:	67	LXVI: 23.....37: 211	
XIII: 14.....38:	162	JEREMIAH	
ISAIAH		II: 10.....25: 302	
I: 13.....37:	211	III: 2.....23: 66	
IX: 6.....36:	368	9.....23: 66	
X: 24.....30:	346	V: 2.....30: 344	
XII: 3.....37:	219	VII: 22.....38: 133	
XIII: 4.....28:	118	VIII: 1.....36: 149	
21.....21:	4	17.....39: 308	
XIV: 13.....34:	413	XI: 22.....28: 314	
21.....28:	315	XV: 10.....37: 167	
XIX: 1.....25:	281	XVII: 19-27...37: 213-214	
XX: 2-4.....21:	25	XXIII: 8.....28: 313	
XXII: 1-14...24:	265-274	XXIX: 24-31...37: 177	
17.....33:	366	XXX: 16.....30: 346	
XXIII: 17.....22:	67-68	XXXI: 3.....36: 325	
17, 18...22:	65	4.....36: 328	
XXVI: 14.....30:	343	24.....37: 166	
21.....39:	313	29.....28: 313	
XXVII: 9.....30:	344	XXXII: 18.....28: 316	
29.....22:	117	XXXVI: 9.....37: 220	
XXVIII: 2...37: 55; 38:	162	22.....37: 220	
20.....30:	308	XXXVII: 12.....30: 308	
23.....22:	38	16.....28: 109	
29.....22:	44	XLI: 4.....36: 327	
XXX: 18.....30:	346	XLI: 5.....21: 35	
29.....37:	219	XLIV: 17-25...37: 213	
		18-19...38: 174	
		XLVI: 21.....36: 418	
		L: 15.....22: 44	

JOB

II: 11.....	37: 177
IV: 15.....	36: 166
V: 4.....	28: 314
12.....	22: 38
VI: 13.....	22: 35, 38
XII: 16.....	22: 116
XIV: 20.....	36: 229
XVI: 18.....	39: 303
XXII: 28.....	36: 167
XXVI: 3.....	22: 40, 116
XXVII: 3.....	25: 72
XXX: 21.....	22: 36
XXXI: 10.....	22: 74
20.....	36: 224
27.....	37: 212
XXXIV: 25.....	30: 344
XXXVIII: 22.....	39: 72
36.....	33: 366
XLII: 3.....	30: 344

JOEL

IV: 2 (III: 2 AV) .	34: 412
---------------------	---------

JOHN

I: 1-3 (Coptic) ..	23: 294
XII: 25.....	22: 8
XVIII: 38.....	39: 56
XIX: 33-36....	36: 146-153
XX: 1.....	26: 323-329

JOSEPHUS

Antiquities

I. 6.i.....	25: 302
III. 10.iv.....	37: 218
X. 1-23.....	24: 265-274
5.i.....	34: 416
XIII. 6.vii....	25: 303

JUBILEES

VI: 17.....	37: 216
VII: 4.....	26: 233
XXXIV: 4.7....	26: 331-333

JUDE

9.....	31: 277
--------	---------

JUDGES

II: 3.....	37: 55
17.....	22: 66, 69
IV: 5.....	34: 418
V:	34: 416-427
24.....	36: 165
VII: 1-7.....	22: 70-75
22.....	27: 301
VIII: 27.....	22: 65
33.....	22: 66
IX: 27.....	36: 328, 329
XI: 24.....	30: 345
33.....	27: 302
XIII: 7.....	30: 345
XXI: 21.....	36: 323-324;
	37: 223
23.....	36: 322

JUDITH

I: 1.....	28: 100
VIII: 5.....	21: 38
X: 3-4.....	21: 38

KETHUBIM

104a.....	36: 164
-----------	---------

I. KINGS

I: 40.....	36: 323
III: 1.10....	30: 310
V: 3.....	33: 364
VI: 23-35....	25: 280
VIII: 4.....	38: 138
6-7.....	25: 280
46.....	30: 307
65.....	37: 221
X: 22.....	33: 365
28-30....	26: 104
XII: 32.....	37: 217
XIII: 2...24:	365; 37: 217
XIV: 12.....	27: 301
XV: 11-15....	38: 128
20.....	27: 301
XVIII: 19.....	37: 47
37.....	24: 373
XIX: 1-14....	38: 129
16.....	27: 301

- XX: 22.....37: 220
 23-25.....23: 62
 31.....21: 35
 XXI: 27.....21: 23
 29.....28: 314

II. KINGS

- II: 19...36: 155; 37: 47
 IV: 23.....37: 211
 V: 8.....21: 35
 VI: 9.....26: 118
 30.....21: 23
 IX: 22.....23: 66
 26.....28: 313
 XIV: 6.....23: 311
 11.....32: 12
 XV: 29.....27: 301
 XVII: 13.....37: 166
 21.....21: 24
 XVIII: 13-XIX: 37
24: 265-274
 XIX: 5.....25: 280
 XXIII: 14-20...36: 149
 22.....37: 215

LAMENTATIONS

- V: 7.....28: 315
 15.....36: 323

LEVITICUS

- VI: 3.....37: 166
 11.....21: 4
 VIII: 9.....31: 275
 X: 9...30: 303; 33: 184
 XIV: 9.....21: 3
 53.....21: 3
 XVI:21: 2; 33: 135
 31.....37: 221
 XVII: 7.....21: 4; 22: 67
 14.....39: 315
 XIX: 24.....36: 329
 XX: 5.....28: 314
 XX: 5-6.....22: 67
 14.....36: 148
 XXI: 9.....36: 148
 XXIII:33: 187
 9ff.....37: 215-216

- XXIII: 11.....36: 328
 23-32.....37: 219
 24...36: 297; 37: 220
 36.....37: 219
 39-41.....37: 217
 40.....37: 218
 43.....37: 218
 XXV: 9.....36: 327
 9-10.....37: 220-222
 XXVI: 39.....28: 314

LUKE

- X: 34.....33: 190
 XI: 51.....26: 317-323
 XIII: 16...36: 159; 37: 56
 XIV: 26.....23: 8
 XVI: 13.....22: 8
 XX: 15.....23: 59
 XXII: 17-18...33: 190
 XXIV: 1.....26: 323-329

I MACCABEES

- I: 1.....25: 302
 10.....25: 303
 VI: 2.....25: 308
 VIII: 5.....25: 302

MARK

- XII: 8.....23: 59
 XIV: 23-25...33: 190
 XVI: 1-2.....26: 323-329

MATTHEW

- II: 1.....26: 79-83
 VI: 24.....22: 8
 XXIII: 35f.....26: 316-323
 XXVI: 27-29...33: 190
 64.....25: 281
 XXVII: 28.....39: 56
 XXVIII: 1.....25: 323-329

MEGILLAH

- 11a.....25: 303

MICAH

- I: 4.....30: 344
 8.....21: 24
 VI: 9.....22: 41, 44, 117

NAHUM

II: 14.....37: 327
III: 4.....22: 66

NEHEMIAH

III: 22.....22: 62
VIII: 2.....37: 221
14.....37: 217
15.....37: 218

NUMBERS

VI: 3.....33: 185
24-26....36: 155;
37: 48
X: 10.....37: 220
XI: 16-18...38: 131-132
XII: 4.....38: 132
XIV: 6.....21: 24
18.....28: 315
33...22: 67; 28: 314
XV: 1-11...33: 186
39.....22: 67
XVI:28: 314
XXII: 5.....35: 387
33.....22: 26
XXIII: 7.....35: 387
XXIV: 24.....25: 302
XXV: 1.....22: 65
XXVIII: 10.....37: 213
29.....33: 186
XXIX: 1..36: 297; 37: 220
1-11...37: 219
35.....37: 219
XXXII: 34.....22: 61
XXXIII: 5.....37: 218
49.....27: 302
55.....37: 55
XXXV: 16-33...39: 306-308

PROVERBS

II: 7.....22: 37
III: 4.....37: 56
21.....22: 40, 117
V: 15-20...36: 419
18.....39: 70
19.....40: 327
VII: 17.....40: 264

VIII: 14.....22: 39, 117

IX: 2-5.....33: 182

X: 10.....30: 302

XVIII: 1.....22: 39

XX: 1.....33: 181

XXI: 17.....33: 181

XXIII: 31.....33: 181

XXVI: 26.....36: 165

XXX: 31.....33: 366

XXXI: 4-7.....33: 181

PSALMS

III: 4.....36: 158
XVI: 10.....32: 120-125
XVII: 8.....25: 283
XVIII: 10.....25: 281
XIX: 11.....32: 21
XX: 10.....37: 48
XXI: 5.....31: 277
XXIV: 2.....22: 10
XXX: 10.....39: 315
12.....36: 323
XXXIII: 7.....39: 71
XXXIV: 7.....36: 155
21.....36: 148
XXXIX: 24.....36: 167
XLV: 8.....40: 264
XLVI: 12..36: 155; 37: 48
LI: 17.....36: 159
LVIII: 2.....36: 368
LX: 7.....25: 283
LXVII: ..36: 155; 37: 48
LXVIII: 22.....34: 421
LXXI: 2.....36: 155
12.....36: 155
LXXII: 14.....39: 315
LXXIII: 27.....22: 66
LXXV: 9.....37: 324
LXXVI: 7.....37: 166
LXXVII: 10.....26: 83
LXXVIII: 14.....25: 281
LXXIX: 8.....28: 314
LXXX: 1.....25: 281
LXXXII: ..21: 165; 36: 368
LXXXIV: 9.....36: 159
LXXXVI: 16.....36: 165
LXXXVII: 7.....36: 322-323

XC:	17.....	37:	44
XCI:	.....	36:	155
	5.....	37:	44, 47
	6.....	37:	52, 55;
		38:	162
	11.....	36:	159;
		37:	41-55
XCII:	11.....	21:	7-8
XCV:	3.....	21:	165
XCVII:	2.....	25:	281
	7.....	21:	165
	9.....	21:	165
	10.....	37:	166
XCIX:	1.....	25:	281
CIV:	3.....	25:	281
CVI:	39.....	22:	67
CVII:	4.....	37:	166
	10.....	37:	166
	23.....	37:	166
CIX:	14.....	28:	314
CX:	4.....	34:	421
CXVI:	16.....	36:	165
CXVIII:	27..	36:	323; 37: 219
CXIX:	79.....	37:	165
	120.....	36:	166
CXX to CXXXIV:	..	27:	108-122
CXXIV:	8.....	37:	49
CXXXVII:	3.....	36:	417
	4.....	36:	418
	5.....	21:	10
CXXXVI:	12.....	37:	47
CXXXVII:	1.....	22:	10
	4.....	28:	313

REVELATION

VII:	4.....	31:	277
XIII:	18.....	26:	315-317
XIV:	14.....	25:	281
XVI:	16.....	34:	413

ROMANS

IX:	13.....	22:	8
-----	---------	-----	---

ROSH HA SHANAH

I. i.	36:	297
-------	-------	-----	-----

RUTH

II:	12.....	25:	283
III:	9.....	32:	18

I. SAMUEL

III:	.....	38:	133
IV:	4.....	25:	280
	12.....	21:	35
VI:	18.....	27:	301
X:	3.....	33:	182
XIII:	6.....	30:	308
XV:	28.....	21:	24
XVI:	20.....	33:	182
XVIII:	1.....	36:	167
	7.....	36:	325
XX:	6.....	37:	211
	17.....	36:	167
	19.....	37:	211
XXV:	18.....	33:	182
XXVI:	20.....	39:	316
XXVIII:	2.....	30:	345
	17.....	21:	24
XXXI:	13.....	36:	148

II. SAMUEL

I:	2.....	21:	24, 35
	9.....	25:	72
	26.....	36:	167
III:	23.....	30:	310
	28.....	28:	312
	31.....	21:	23
V:	8.....	37:	166
VI:	.....	38:	134
	2.....	25:	280
	21.....	36:	325
XI:	1.....	37:	220
	11.....	38:	139
XIII:	1.....	36:	167
	15.....	36:	167
XV:	32.....	21:	35
XX:	1.....	34:	420
	8.....	37:	166
	14-15.....	27:	301
	19.....	34:	418
XXI:	4.....	39:	308
	13-14.....	36:	148

SANHEDRIN

20b.	.....	36:	164
38b.	.....	36:	164
65b.	.....	37:	52
99b.	.....	36:	164

101a.....36: 40	TARGUM YERUSHALMI
109a.....36: 166	Num XXII: 28.....31: 278
SHABBATH	I. TIMOTHY
55a.....31: 277	III: 8.....33: 190
66b.....36: 165	TITUS
86b.....37: 216	II: 3.....33: 190
SHEBUOTH	YOMA
15b.....36: 155	59a.....37: 52
SIRACH	75b.....36: 165
IV: 5.....39: 321	ZECHARIAH
SUKKAH	III: 2.....31: 277
45a.....36: 155	IX: 13.....25: 306
TARGUM ONKELOS	XI: 7.....30: 344
Ex IV: 2.....31: 275	XII: 10.....30: 97

INDIC LITERATURE

RIG VEDA

I. 1.8.....31: 69	31.13.....31: 51
2.3.....32: 407	32.8.....27: 404
2.4.....36: 247	32.13.....36: 254
4.5.....36: 266	33.4.....36: 250
8.5.....31: 61	33.7.....36: 250
9.4.....36: 264	35.11.....36: 213, 218, 225
10.2.....36: 245-264	37.11.....36: 253
10.4.....32: 403	38.7.....36: 253
10.7.....31: 57	38.8.....36: 243, 246
10.8.....36: 245	39.6.....31: 63
10.11.....36: 256	42.3.....31: 67
11.4.....36: 207	45.4.....31: 69
16.2.....36: 258	45.10.....27: 404
16.9.....36: 262	46.6.....22: 161
22.21.....31: 61	47.7.....31: 52
23.2.....36: 247	50.....37: 34
23.17.....36: 257	51.1.....36: 264-265
27.1.....31: 69	51.2.....36: 245
30.16.....27: 74	51.6.....36: 255
30.21.....31: 64	51.9.....38: 294
31.12.....36: 260	51.13.....36: 264

52. 6.....	36: 250	113. 15.....	31: 60
52. 9.....	36: 257	117. 16.....	36: 265
52. 14.....	36: 256	117. 21.....	36: 262
52. 15.....	36: 250	119. 8.....	27: 76-77
53. 2.....	36: 262	121. 9.....	36: 251
53. 5.....	36: 261	122. 1.....	34: 338
54. 4.....	36: 250	124. 3.....	31: 58-59
54. 5.....	36: 247	126.....	21: 44
55. 4.....	32: 403	126. 6-7.....	21: 45
56. 6.....	36: 252	129. 11.....	36: 250
57. 6.....	36: 252	130. 3.....	36: 246
61. 2.....	32: 402	130. 4.....	36: 251
61. 9.....	36: 256	131. 1.....	36: 266
62. 11.....	28: 132	131. 4.....	36: 267
63. 8.....	36: 251	132. 1.....	36: 216
64. 6.....	36: 246	135. 7.....	36: 247
64. 14.....	36: 246, 259	139. 10.....	40: 91
65. 2.....	32: 391	140. 10.....	21: 51
66. 1.....	22: 250	141. 1.....	32: 399
68. 2.....	32: 391	144. 1.....	28: 127
76. 3.....	36: 250	144. 7.....	31: 68
79. 2.....	36: 253	152. 5.....	31: 53
80. 4.....	36: 246	154. 2.....	36: 264
80. 5.....	36: 247	154. 5.....	31: 61
80. 10.....	31: 66	155. 1.....	36: 265
80. 12.....	36: 250, 255	155. 4.....	36: 264
80. 13.....	36: 251	163. 11.....	30: 179
82. 6.....	36: 258	164. 19.....	27: 406
84. 17.....	36: 220	164. 30.....	22: 252
85. 10.....	36: 246	165. 1.....	39: 286
86. 9.....	36: 246	166. 11.....	36: 246
87. 6.....	31: 50; 39: 286	167. 3.....	39: 286
92. 11-12.....	31: 59	169. 3.....	39: 286
92. 16.....	27: 403	171. 2.....	32: 402
94. 7.....	34: 338	173. 8.....	36: 245
98. 2.....	27: 414	174. 9.....	36: 245
100. 1-3.....	36: 262	175. 4.....	36: 247, 267
100. 5.....	36: 260	176. 3.....	36: 250
100. 11.....	36: 259	177.....	36: 265
100. 18.....	36: 259	181. 8.....	36: 251
100. 19.....	36: 216	185. 5.....	28: 122
101. 3.....	36: 256	186. 7.....	28: 126
101. 10.....	32: 405	II. 3. 9.....	36: 256
103. 5.....	36: 259	11. 6.....	36: 258
103. 7.....	22: 169; 36: 262	11. 7.....	36: 249
105. 1.....	39: 72	11. 9.....	36: 247
112. 22.....	36: 259		

11.14.....	36: 249
12.6.....	31: 51
12.10.....	36: 250
12.11.....	36: 255
13.6.....	36: 257
13.7.....	36: 257
13.11.....	36: 263
14.11.....	36: 257
15.7.....	36: 263
16.4.....	36: 265
16.8.....	36: 263
17.5.....	36: 247
17.7.....	23: 60-62
20.3.....	36: 266
20.5.....	36: 267
20.7.....	36: 259
21.1-4.....	36: 265
21.1.....	36: 257
21.3.....	36: 265
22.1.....	36: 257. 258
22.4.....	36: 248
23.8.....	36: 216
23.9.....	36: 259
23.14.....	36: 266
24.10.....	36: 253
27.6.....	36: 219. 225
27.14.....	36: 252
28.6.....	39: 286
30.3.....	36: 247. 253
30.5.....	22: 164; 36: 247
34.8.....	36: 246
34.13.....	36: 252
37.5.....	27: 405
III. 1.9.....	32: 407
4.8.....	27: 404
5.5.....	27: 74-76
8.2.....	36: 260
8.91.....	36: 263
10.9.....	31: 61
15.4.....	21: 51
16.5.....	36: 260
19.4.....	22: 164
22.7.....	31: 62
30.1.....	36: 266
30.16.....	36: 250
30.18.....	36: 260. 262

30.20.....	36: 246. 256
30.21.....	36: 247
31.8.....	36: 247
31.16.....	36: 263
31.20.....	36: 253
32.2.....	36: 260
32.4.....	25: 336
32.6.....	36: 245
32.10.....	36: 248
32.11.....	36: 256
34.3.....	32: 408
34.7.....	36: 248
34.10.....	36: 257. 258
35.3.....	36: 257
35.9.....	36: 249. 260
36.3.....	36: 258
36.5.....	36: 258
36.7.....	27: 77-78
36.8.....	30: 180
40.6.....	31: 57
42.7.....	36: 257
42.9.....	36: 256
43.4.....	36: 258
44.3.....	36: 258
45.1.....	36: 266
45.2.....	36: 255
45.4.....	36: 259
46.2.....	36: 267
47.5.....	36: 262
49.3.....	36: 258
50.4.....	36: 256
51.3.....	36: 248
51.5.....	36: 259
52.1.....	36: 258
52.3.....	36: 258
53.6.....	36: 263
53.21.....	22: 251
55.19.....	36: 256
57.2.....	36: 257
60.3.....	31: 62
62.8.....	28: 129
IV. 3.2.....	27: 417
3.10.....	31: 54
4.8.....	27: 406
11.6.....	36: 260
16.14.....	36: 265
16.21.....	36: 252

- | | | | |
|---------------|--------------------------------|---------------|---------------------|
| 17. 1..... | 36: 255, 265 | 37. 4..... | 36: 252 |
| 17. 3..... | 31: 66 | 38. 3..... | 36: 253 |
| 17. 6..... | 36: 258 | 39. 1..... | 36: 253 |
| 17. 10..... | 22: 150 | 39. 2..... | 36: 247 |
| 17. 13..... | 36: 259 | 42. 10..... | 36: 266 |
| 17. 18..... | 36: 259 | 42. 11..... | 31: 50 |
| 18. 7..... | 31: 67 | 45. 1..... | 36: 252 |
| 18. 13..... | 36: 258 | 45. 10..... | 27: 403, 406 |
| 19. 2..... | 32: 411; 36: 266 | 52. 9..... | 36: 246 |
| 19. 7..... | 36: 263 | 52. 12..... | 36: 246 |
| 19. 8..... | 31: 67 | 53. 4..... | 31: 51 |
| 19. 9..... | 36: 263 | 53. 6..... | 36: 246, 253 |
| 21. 4..... | 36: 247 | 53. 13..... | 36: 257 |
| 23. 6..... | 36: 251 | 53. 14..... | 36: 267 |
| 23. 8..... | 36: 258 | 54. 15..... | 22: 167 |
| 24. 7..... | 36: 259 | 55. 6..... | 36: 248 |
| 26. 2..... | 36: 255 | 57. 2..... | 31: 50 |
| 28. 2..... | 36: 254 | 57. 7..... | 36: 246 |
| 32. 7..... | 36: 259 | 58. 3..... | 36: 246 |
| 32. 9..... | 36: 256 | 58. 5..... | 39: 286 |
| 32. 16..... | 36: 258 | 61. 17..... | 32: 405 |
| 32. 19..... | 36: 264 | 62. 2..... | 32: 409 |
| 36. 1..... | 31: 53 | 63. 1..... | 36: 251 |
| 46. 48..... | 36: 247 | 63. 5..... | 36: 260 |
| 50. 4..... | 36: 255 | 64. 3..... | 22: 167 |
| 52. 2..... | 31: 64 | 80. 4..... | 31: 58 |
| 53. 7..... | 36: 259 | 82. 4..... | 36: 259 |
| 57. 5..... | 36: 260 | 83. 6..... | 27: 404 |
| 57. 6..... | 27: 405 | 83. 8..... | 36: 253 |
| 57. 7..... | 36: 257 | 83. 9..... | 36: 247 |
| 58. 6..... | 32: 393 | 87. 5..... | 31: 49, 50 |
| V. 2. 11..... | 36: 254 | 87. 8..... | 36: 257 |
| 3. 2..... | 38: 294 | VI. 4. 5..... | 40: 89 |
| 4. 10..... | 31: 52 | 5. 1..... | 31: 65 |
| 22. 16..... | 31: 50 | 11. 5..... | 39: 286 |
| 29. 1..... | 36: 249 | 13. 2..... | 36: 214 |
| 29. 4..... | 36: 247 | 17. 2-3..... | 36: 251 |
| 29. 7..... | 36: 258 | 17. 5..... | 36: 252 |
| 30. 4..... | 36: 252 | 17. 11..... | 36: 249, 258 |
| 31. 2..... | 36: 262 | 18. 7..... | 36: 262 |
| 32. 2..... | 36: 254 | 18. 10..... | 36: 250 |
| 32. 4..... | 36: 254 | 19. 2..... | 31: 62 |
| 34. 4..... | 36: 266 | 19. 6..... | 36: 262 |
| 36. 3..... | 36: 261 | 19. 9..... | 27: 404 |
| 36. 5..... | 36: 261 | 19. 11..... | 36: 249, 262 |
| 37. 3..... | 36: 262 | 20. 1..... | 36: 257 |

20.4	36: 254
21.12	36: 260
22.2	31: 65
22.8	36: 250
22.9	36: 266
23.3	31: 51
24.5	36: 258
25.3	27: 408
25.4	36: 259
28.3	36: 260
28.5	36: 260
28.8	36: 263
29.2	36: 248; 39: 286
30.1	36: 256
31.1	36: 259
32.5	36: 250
35.4	36: 252
36.1-4	36: 251
36.1	36: 255
37.2	36: 262
39.3	36: 256
39.5	36: 259
40.5	36: 249
44.12	36: 247
44.15	31: 51
44.18	36: 247, 259
45.15	36: 264
46.3	36: 263
46.4	21: 50
47.5	36: 249
47.18	36: 263, 266
47.28	36: 249
47.30	36: 256
48.14	40: 92
48.22	31: 55
49.10	31: 62
49.15	27: 76
50.5	39: 286
52.2	36: 266
66.1	31: 55
66.7	31: 54
75.12	36: 213, 214
VII. 1.19	36: 260
18.3	27: 406
20.1	36: 266
20.5	36: 266
21.3	32: 404

21.5-7	36: 265
22.5	36: 266
23.4-5	36: 251
24.2	32: 410
27.4	36: 264
28.1	27: 406
31.8	36: 249
32.10	36: 249
36.1	36: 251
36.9	36: 257
46.1	31: 50
55.2	31: 56
56.2	36: 263
56.8	36: 245
56.11	31: 49, 50
75.8	36: 260
78.1	27: 403
83.3	27: 405
84.5	36: 259
87.1	36: 251
94.3	36: 260
94.4	32: 398
94.9	36: 260
103	37: 186-191
VIII. 1.1	21: 45
1.12	36: 263
1.25	36: 266
1.28	36: 254
1.34	21: 45; 36: 264
2.40	36: 264
2.42	36: 264
3.7	36: 258
3.20	36: 240
4.8	36: 256, 257
4.10	36: 252
4.15	36: 258
4.21	36: 253
6.1	36: 256
6.16	36: 255
6.23	36: 260
6.40	36: 247
6.42	36: 266
7.3	36: 252
7.4-5	36: 253
7.28	31: 64
8.14	31: 52
8.18	31: 69

8. 23.....	27: 407, 410	56. 20.....	36: 317
12. 6.....	36: 247, 255	60. 12.....	40: 90
12. 8.....	36: 258	61. 1.....	27: 406
12. 9.....	36: 250	63. 9.....	36: 264
12. 29.....	36: 249, 266	63. 12.....	36: 253, 264
12. 30.....	36: 250	64. 4.....	36: 261
13. 2.....	36: 261	66. 4.....	36: 264
13. 8.....	36: 258	66. 14.....	36: 261
13. 15.....	27: 409	67. 6.....	36: 223, 225
13. 19.....	31: 67	69. 7.....	36: 261
13. 25.....	36: 252	69. 8.....	36: 261
13. 27.....	32: 403	70. 10.....	36: 266
13. 29.....	36: 261	72. 8.....	36: 253
14. 8.....	27: 404	72. 15.....	31: 56
15. 9.....	36: 249, 266	73. 3.....	36: 255
16. 5.....	36: 216, 225	74. 7.....	31: 68
17. 10.....	36: 264	76. 1.....	36: 249
17. 12.....	36: 258	77. 10.....	36: 258
18. 11.....	36: 260	78. 10.....	36: 261
18. 13.....	27: 72-74	80. 7.....	36: 261
19. 26.....	36: 260	88. 2.....	36: 258
19. 32.....	36: 263	89. 2.....	36: 261, 267
20. 3.....	36: 257	91. 2.....	36: 258
20. 4.....	31: 51	91. 5.....	36: 261
20. 5.....	36: 246	93. 4.....	36: 251
20. 26....	36: 221, 225, 263	93. 8.....	36: 262
21. 3.....	36: 257	95. 1.....	32: 405
22. 6.....	36: 262	96. 4-6.....	36: 266
29. 6.....	27: 76	96. 9.....	36: 249
30. 3.....	36: 220, 225	96. 11.....	28: 133
32. 9.....	36: 264	96. 20.....	36: 213, 217
32. 26.....	36: 254	97. 4.....	31: 53
33. 17.....	36: 265	97. 12.....	36: 264
36. 2.....	36: 249	98. 2.....	36: 266
36. 4-5.....	36: 266	98. 3.....	36: 267
40. 10.....	36: 245	98. 4.....	36: 261
43. 10.....	28: 127	103. 5.....	36: 251
45. 20.....	36: 266	IX. 8. 9.....	36: 256
45. 32.....	36: 266	9. 7.....	36: 256
46. 18.....	36: 246	12. 6.....	29: 290
48. 6.....	21: 51	15. 4.....	30: 179
48. 14.....	36: 213, 219	21. 5-6.....	40: 91
49. 2.....	36: 258	24. 6-7.....	31: 67
51. 10.....	32: 410	35. 4.....	29: 290
54. 7.....	36: 261	55. 1.....	36: 262
54. 8.....	36: 247	69. 8.....	36: 262
56. 1.....	31: 61	70. 5.....	40: 89

	73. 1.....	31: 57		75. 2.....	36: 251
	85. 3.....	28: 127		76. 2.....	28: 127
	91. 6.....	36: 259		76. 4.....	36: 260
X.	4. 1.....	22: 168		81. 3.....	30: 180
	10. 18.....	21: 43		83. 6.....	27: 405
	11. 3.....	21: 50		85. 12.....	22: 280
	15. 4.....	27: 404		85. 25.....	36: 264
	15. 5.....	36: 221		85. 45.....	36: 264
	18. 14.....	25: 336		89. 12.....	36: 249
	22. 4.....	36: 247		89. 5.....	27: 406
	22. 7.....	36: 254		89. 7.....	36: 251
	23. 4.....	36: 249		89. 16.....	27: 406
	27. 6.....	36: 266		90. 13.....	22: 251
	28. 7.....	31: 66		92. 2.....	28: 127
	32. 8.....	22: 252		94. 2.....	31: 63
	33. 2.....	36: 261		94. 9.....	28: 127
	38. 1.....	36: 252		95. 14.....	21: 159
	39. 6.....	36: 261		99. 12.....	30: 178
	42. 2.....	36: 253		102. 4.....	36: 263
	42. 7.....	36: 262		103. 13.....	22: 165
	42. 10.....	36: 261		104. 8.....	36: 256
	43. 3.....	36: 261		104. 9.....	36: 261
	43. 6.....	32: 397; 36: 256		111. 3.....	36: 266
	44. 2.....	39: 286		111. 9.....	36: 255
	48. 2.....	36: 252		113. 2.....	36: 266
	48. 4.....	36: 264		120. 6.....	36: 263
	48. 7.....	36: 266		121. 3.....	22: 253
	48. 11.....	36: 266		124.....	39: 100-103
	49. 9.....	36: 245		125. 4.....	22: 252
	55. 3.....	36: 266		125. 6.....	31: 50
	55. 5.....	22: 253		128. 4.....	36: 220
	59. 6.....	22: 251		129. 2.....	22: 252
	60. 12.....	28: 132		129. 6.....	27: 406
	61. 3.....	40: 89		131. 1.....	22: 167
	63. 1.....	36: 220		133. 7.....	36: 264
	63. 11.....	36: 224, 225		134. 2.....	40: 90
	63. 15.....	36: 245		134. 6.....	36: 264
	64. 4.....	21: 51		135. 5.....	22: 173
	64. 16.....	21: 51		138. 2.....	36: 257
	66. 13.....	31: 59		138. 6.....	36: 266
	67. 12.....	36: 255		147. 5.....	36: 251
	73. 5.....	36: 253		171. 4.....	36: 250
	73. 8.....	36: 251		173. 3.....	36: 218, 219
	73. 9.....	36: 260		180. 2.....	36: 250, 264
	73. 10.....	36: 263, 265		183. 3.....	36: 260
	74. 4.....	36: 252		189. 2.....	22: 251, 253, 278

ATHARVA VEDA

I.	16. 11.....	36: 223	VII.	103.....	31: 51
	19. 3.....	31: 50	VIII.	2. 7-8.....	36: 222
II.	16. 1.....	39: 105		8. 8.....	36: 244
	27. 7.....	36: 221, 225		8. 15.....	33: 65
	36. 6.....	36: 245		10. 28.....	33: 59
III.	10. 13.....	36: 245	IX.	4. 23.....	36: 263
	12. 3.....	23: 77-78	XI.	2. 20.....	36: 222
	13. 5.....	22: 280		4. 8-14.....	22: 279
	26. 1-6.....	36: 223		4. 13.....	22: 287
IV.	4. 4.....	36: 245		6. 22.....	30: 180
	8. 2.....	36: 218		26. 12.....	33: 66
	15. 14.....	37: 188	XII.	1. 6.....	36: 243
	19. 8.....	36: 245		1. 59.....	36: 220
	27. 1.....	36: 215		4. 5.....	28: 122
	28. 7.....	36: 213, 215, 225	XIII.	2. 26.....	30: 180
V.	2. 2.....	22: 279		2. 39.....	36: 201
	4. 7.....	22: 279		3. 4.....	22: 279; 39: 112
VI.	5. 3.....	36: 218, 219	XIV.	1. 12.....	22: 280
	7. 2.....	36: 223, 225		1. 13.....	36: 245
	13. 2.....	36: 214	XV.	5. 5.....	31: 50
	48. 1-3.....	23: 77, 78	XVIII.	2. 46.....	39: 106
	87. 3.....	36: 218, 219		3. 45.....	36: 221
	138. 2.....	36: 244	XIX.	32. 9.....	36: 224
	141. 1.....	36: 220		60. 1.....	22: 297
VII.	53. 2-6.....	22: 279	XX.	127. 6.....	31: 50
	53. 2.....	39: 105		127. 10.....	34: 310-312
	69. 10.....	33: 65			

ÇATAPATHA BRĀHMAṆA

I.	3. 4. 8.....	23: 282	VIII.	1. 3. 6.....	22: 284
	4. 1. 5.....	23: 283	X.	1. 3. 1.....	22: 283
	4. 3. 3.....	22: 284		1. 4. 12.....	22: 284
II.	2. 2. 15.....	22: 285	XI.	1. 6. 8.....	22: 283
III.	8. 2. 6.....	22: 282		1. 6. 30.....	22: 283
IV.	1. 1-2.....	22: 285		5. 2. 4.....	22: 283
VI.	1. 2-11.....	22: 283		8. 3-6.....	22: 274
	7. 1. 11.....	22: 282	XII.	1. 4. 3.....	22: 282
VII.	1. 2. 15.....	22: 282		2. 4. 16.....	22: 282
VIII.	1. 3. 6-9.....	22: 281		3. 1. 8.....	22: 282

UPANISHADS

Aitareya	I.	1-2.....	22: 275
	I.	3.....	22: 276, 284, 293
	I.	4.....	22: 288
	II.	4.....	22: 288
	III.	4.....	22: 288

Amṛtabindu	32-35.....	22: 264
Bṛhad Āraṇyaka.....	I. 5. 3.....	22: 290
	III. 1. 10.....	22: 291
	III. 2.....	22: 301
	III. 4. 1.....	22: 291
	III. 9. 26.....	22: 292
	V. 14. 3.....	22: 292
	VI. 4. 12.....	22: 287
Chāndogya	I. 3. 3.....	22: 287
	I. 3. 3-5.....	22: 277, 280
	III. 13.....	22: 274, 288
	V. 19-23.....	22: 288
	VI. 2.....	35: 240-242
	VI. 14.....	35: 242-245
	VI. 16.....	35: 245-246
		22: 380, 387
Āvetāṣvātara	I. 60. 5.....	22: 298
Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa.....	II. 1. 15-16.....	22: 300
	II. 1. 19.....	22: 298-299
	II. 5.....	22: 295
	II. 10.....	22: 298
	II. 22.....	22: 295
	IV. 22.....	22: 296
	IV. 26.....	22: 298
Kaṭha	V. 3.....	22: 293
Kauṣītaki	II. 1.....	21: 159
	III. 4. 7.....	22: 298
Maitrī	II. 6.....	22: 261
	VI. 5.....	22: 294
	VI. 9.....	22: 290
	VI. 33.....	22: 294
	VII. 1-5.....	22: 295
Muṇḍaka	II. 17.....	22: 287
Praçna	III.	22: 266
	IV. 3-4.....	22: 272
Praṇava	I.	22: 297
Samnyāsa		22: 275, 287
Taittirīya	I. 5-3.....	22: 292
	I. 7.....	22: 293
	II. 2.....	22: 293
	III. 10. 2.....	22: 287

GRHYA SŪTRAS

Gobhila	IV. 4. 28.....	36: 244
Hiranyakeçin	I. 7. 5.....	36: 244
Pāraskara	I. 16. 9-15.....	22: 274
	I. 19. 4.....	22: 276, 298
	II. 17. 9.....	36: 243
	III. 15. 18.....	36: 244

MAHĀBHĀRATA

I. 2. 304.....	21: 154	VII. 69. 24.....	33: 59
74. 46.....	21: 148	192. 46.....	21: 151
74. 120.....	28: 132	198. 29-31.....	21: 151
125. 31.....	21: 149	VIII. 45. 36.....	25: 304
II. 14. 41.....	21: 148	X. 11. 15.....	21: 154
47. 31.....	21: 152	16. 22.....	21: 154
52. 41.....	21: 152	XII.	39: 209-242
III. 7. 5.....	21: 152	14. 21-25.....	39: 212-213
112. 12.....	28: 124	27. 23.....	21: 153
132. 15.....	21: 148	111. 73.....	21: 153
249. 11-20.....	21: 152	111. 90.....	21: 153
251. 19.....	21: 153	116. 10.....	21: 154
252. 2.....	21: 153	148. 9-10.....	21: 149
283. 30.....	21: 155	XIII. 19. 33.....	33: 63
289. 9.....	33: 65	93. 4.....	21: 150
V. 64. 18.....	33: 62	154. 7.....	21: 156
VI. 43. 65-66.....	21: 151	XIV. 80. 17.....	21: 154

MANU

V. 55.....	26: 196	VI. 31.....	21: 150
V. 89.....	21: 147	VIII. 49.....	21: 146

RĀMĀYANA

I. 179. 20.....	21: 150	IV. 53. 12-13.....	21: 151
II. 11. 21.....	21: 155	19.....	21: 154
12. 47.....	21: 155	55. 11.....	21: 151
21. 27-28.....	21: 156	56. 8.....	21: 151
58. 3.....	21: 152	57. 18.....	21: 151
66. 12.....	21: 149	59. 11.....	21: 157
74. 33.....	21: 148	V. 13. 38.....	21: 151
111. 14-17.....	21: 156	26. 7.....	21: 149
III. 45. 36.....	21: 148	35. 60.....	21: 151
47. 8-9.....	21: 155	VI. 19. 41.....	21: 155
74. 32-33.....	21: 150	XV. 33. 21.....	21: 149

HINDU LITERATURE, MISCELLANEOUS

Āpastamba	I. 19. 1.....	21: 146
Brahma Sūtra.....	I. 28. 17.....	21: 147
Bṛhaspati	II. 2. 18-32.....	31: 13-14, 22
Buddhacarita	11. 58.....	21: 146
Çaradā-tilaka Tantra.....	V. 72.....	22: 387
	X. 34.....	22: 388
	XII. 22.....	22: 388
		23: 65-76

Gautama	V. 32. 23.....	21: 153
Harivaṃśa	382.....	33: 59
Kathākośa (p. 128, Tawney's trans.)..		33: 158
Nyāya Darśana.....	IV. 2. 4.....	31: 9
	IV. 2. 25.....	31: 9
	IV. 2. 31-33.....	31: 12
Sautramani	II. 1. 2: 11.....	36: 245
	III. 3. 4: 18.....	36: 264
	XIV. 1. 2: 12.....	36: 243
	XIV. 12. 7: 1.....	36: 243
Vasiṣṭha	V. 7.....	36: 244
	XXIII. 14.....	21: 147
Vikramacarita	Story 14.....	33: 159
Yājñavalkya	3. 6.....	21: 147
Yoga Sūtra.....	IV. 15-16.....	31: 24

PERSIAN LITERATURE

AVESTA

<i>Yasna</i>	XXXIII. 13.....	21: 70, 76
IX. 19.....	XXXIII. 7-9.....	21: 73
IX. 49-103..	7.....	21: 76
23: 1-18;	12.....	21: 67
24: 4-76	13.....	21: 67, 70
X. 10.....	XXXIV. 3.....	21: 70
21: 164;	5.....	21: 70, 73
38: 296	6.....	21: 68, 70
XVII. (Pahlavi text) 26: 68-78	7.....	21: 70
XIX. 47-79.....	8.....	21: 70
36: 312	10.....	21: 73
XXVIII. 1.....	11.....	21: 70
2.....	12-13.....	21: 76
4.....	12.....	21: 71
6.....	13.....	21: 71
7-8.....	XXXIV. 14.....	21: 71
11.....	15.....	21: 68
XXIX. 11.....	XXXVII. 1.....	21: 165
21: 69	XLIII. 1.....	21: 73, 76
XXX. 1.....	2.....	21: 71
2.....	4-5.....	21: 168
7.....	4.....	21: 71
10.....	6.....	21: 71
21: 70, 73	7.....	21: 73, 76
XXXI. 4-5.....	9.....	21: 73, 76
21: 73	11.....	21: 73
6.....	13.....	21: 73, 76
21: 70, 75	15.....	21: 73, 76
8.....		
36: 318		
17.....		
21: 67		
21.....		
21: 76		
XXXII. 2.....		
21: 67		
4.....		
21: 70, 76		
6.....		
21: 67		
11-12.....		
21: 73		

XLIV.	1.....	21:	68, 71, 74	L.	11.....	21:	69
	3.....	36:	306	LI.	2.....	21:	69
	3-5.....	21:	165		3.....	21:	78
	4.....	21:	76		7.....	21:	69
	6.....	21:	68		11.....	21:	78
	8.....	21:	74		15.....	21:	69
	9.....	21:	71, 77		16.....	21:	72, 78
	13.....	21:	77		18.....	21:	72, 78
	16.....	21:	74, 77		20.....	21:	72
XLV.	4.....	21:	77;		21.....	21:	69
		36:	315	LIII.	3.....	21:	72
	6.....	21:	74		4.....	21:	72
	9.....	21:	77		5.....	21:	78
	10.....	21:	68	LV.	1.....	23:	59
XLVI.	2.....	21:	77	LVII.	17.....	21:	165
	3.....	21:	74	LXV.	12.....	21:	176
	7.....	21:	71	LXVIII.	13.....	21:	172
	10.....	21:	68, 74	LXX.	1.....	21:	164
	12.....	21:	68	LXXII.	11.....	21:	171
	13.....	21:	68	Yasht			
	14.....	21:	68, 74	V.	1-4.....	36:	301
	16.....	21:	77		7.....	36:	302
	18.....	21:	74		64-78.....	36:	302
XLVII.	1.....	21:	68, 71	VIII.	33.....	23:	59
	2.....	21:	77		36.....	21:	171
	4.....	21:	168		51-54.....	21:	171
XLVIII.	3.....	21:	68	IX.	56.....	36:	308
	6.....	21:	71, 77	X.	1.....	21:	164
	7.....	21:	71		3.....	21:	172
	8.....	21:	77		86.....	21:	171
XLVIII.	11.....	21:	77		141.....	21:	164
	12.....	21:	74	XIV.		36:	312
XLIX.	1.....	21:	68	XVII.	16.....	36:	315
	2.....	21:	77	XIX.	31.....	36:	311
	3.....	21:	71, 78	XXIV.	29.....	21:	181
	5.....	21:	71, 75	Vendidad			
	10.....	21:	78	I.	1.....	21:	166
	12.....	21:	69, 72, 78	II.	18.....	36:	319
L.	1.....	21:	72	IV.	5.....	23:	58
	4.....	21:	75		43.....	21:	171
	6.....	21:	75	VI.	49.....	23:	58
	7.....	21:	69, 75	XXII.	7.....	38:	294
	9.....	21:	78				

BUNDAHISH

I.	1.....	21:	165	11-12.....	21:	162
	1-5.....	36:	311	21.....	36:	306

I. 23.....	35: 331-336	III. 87-91.....	24: 88
24-26.....	21: 162	IV. 6.....	35: 344-350
25-26.....	22: 150	33-35.....	21: 170
27-28.....	22: 150	33-36.....	35: 347
33-35.....	21: 170	35.....	21: 162
34.....	21: 181	37.....	33: 283
47.....	24: 84	38.....	21: 170
48.....	21: 180	44.....	22: 172; 23: 60-62
50.....	35: 336,	46.....	23: 62; 24: 89
	340, 342	49-50.....	21: 181
51.....	24: 84	49.....	21: 170; 24: 89
54-55.....	21: 176	50.....	24: 89
54.....	21: 167	51.....	24: 89
55.....	21: 162; 27: 190	53.....	24: 50
62-64.....	21: 176	59-60.....	21: 163
62.....	35: 345	61-63.....	21: 168
65.....	24: 84; 33: 281-283	62-63.....	22: 157
66.....	24: 85	63-64.....	21: 170
86-87.....	35: 343-344	64.....	21: 172-175;
86.....	24: 85-86		24: 50-92
87.....	21: 162; 24: 86	65.....	24: 92-94
88.....	24: 87	66.....	24: 94
92-96.....	24: 88	67-69.....	35: 347, 351-352
94.....	21: 162	68.....	21: 170; 24: 94
96.....	35: 345	69.....	24: 94
II. 6-7.....	22: 150	71.....	24: 94
22-23.....	22: 150	74-76.....	21: 167
25.....	21: 162	76.....	24: 94
59-61.....	24: 88	77.....	24: 95
75.....	24: 88	78-80.....	21: 168
III. 9.....	36: 311	V. 15-16.....	35: 346
11.....	36: 311	26-27.....	35: 345-346

LATER PERSIAN LITERATURE

<i>Hafiz</i>	Ode 541.....	21: 41
<i>Naqsi Rustam</i>	a 52-53.....	21: 171

GREEK LITERATURE

<i>Aelian: Var. hist.</i>	V. 15.....	39: 320
<i>Aeschylus: Persians</i>	852.....	21: 166
	918.....	21: 166
<i>Aristophanes: Thesmophoria</i>	527.....	28: 93
<i>Diodorus Siculus</i>	II. 8.4.....	22: 29
	8.6.....	22: 30
<i>Herodotus</i>	I. 103-106.....	22: 21
	131.....	21: 168
	134.....	28: 129

Herodotus	I. 178	28: 100
	185. 20	28: 104
	II. 86	40: 265
	141	24: 265-274
	159	34: 416
	170	28: 104
	III. 61	40: 200-201
	110	40: 264
	VIII. 129	32: 116
Homer: <i>Iliad</i>	I. 56	22: 157
	64	22: 173
	120	22: 169
	599-600	22: 150
	II. 381	22: 165
	IV. 14-16	22: 174
	VII. 401-402	22: 172
	VIII. 36-37	22: 165
	XI. 341-342	22: 150
	XIV. 77-78	22: 153
	XV. 26	27: 413
	XVI. 234-235	21: 29
	XXII. 335-358	39: 315
Homer: <i>Odyssey</i>	XI. 51-73	39: 315
	XV. 310-311	22: 165
	458	22: 167
	XVI. 131	22: 169
	XVII. 368	22: 174
Isocrates	XIV. 55	39: 311
Lucian: <i>Philopseudes</i>		39: 295-298
Pausanias	V. 25. 7	22: 117
Plato: <i>Republic</i>	479c	36: 67
	501b	22: 154
	546c-d	29: 211
Polybius	V. 37. 8	28: 103
	VII. 9. 2	21: 189
	VIII. 5. 2	28: 103
Sappho: <i>Frag.</i>	II. 4	31: 348
Sophocles: <i>Antigone</i>	19	22: 167
	255	39: 320
	<i>Oed. Tyr.</i>	834-835
		22: 153
Strabo	VII. 79	32: 117
	XI. 13	32: 429
	XV. 4	33: 211
Thucydides	II. 21	22: 157
Xenophon: <i>Anabasis</i>	I. 6. 8	22: 169
	III. 4. 7	28: 99-107
	<i>Cyropaedia</i>	II. 1. 5
		28: 100

(37) 600

